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ABSTRACT

The topics of anthropologist-missionary relationships, theology and missiology, research methods and missionary contributions to ethnology, and missionary training and methods, along with specific case studies are presented. The 13 essays are: (1) "Prospects for a Better Understanding and Closer Cooperation between Anthropologists and Missionaries" (Louis J. Luzbetak); (2) "Anthropologists and Missionaries: Eternal Enemies or Colleagues in Disguise?" (Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr.); (3) "Parallaxis in Missiology: To Use or Abuse" (A. R. Tippett); (4) "Missionaries and the Perception of Evil" (Kenelm Burridge); (5) "Inculturation and Evangelisation: Realism or Romanticism?" (Gerald A. Arbuckle); (6) "A Missionary Philosophy of Development" (T. Wayne Dye); (7) "Developing Moralnets: Twenty-five Years of Culture Change among the Choco" (Jacob A. Loewen); (8) "Missionaries and Mourning: Continuity and Change in the Death Ceremonies of a Melanesian People" (John Barker); (9) "The Use of Missionary Documents in Ethnohistorical Research" (Darrell L. Whitman); (10) "Called for Life: The Literary Contribution of Edward M. Haymaker to an Ethnohistory of Protestant Missionary Ideology, Guatemala, 1887-1947" (David G. Scotchmer); (11) "Ethnology and Missionaries: The Case of the Anthropos Institute and Wilhelm Schmidt" (Ernest Brandewie); (12) "The Missionary as Cross-Cultural Educator" (Marvin K. Mayers); and (13) "Teaching Missionaires through Stories: The Anthropological Analysis of Indigenous Literature as an Aspect of a Cross-Cultural Orientation Program" (Miriam Adeney). (BZ)

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INTRODUCTION

MISSIONARIES, ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND EPISTEMOLOGY

DARRELL L. WHITEMAN
Guest Editor and Symposium Organizer

The papers in this volume demonstrate unusual balance in an arena that is often fraught with hostility between anthropologists and missionaries. That is, they bring us face to face with the fundamental problem of epistemology. Because the authors are grounded in an epistemology that differs from that of many missionaries and anthropologists, they are able to see the world of anthropology and missiology, of science and religion in more complementary terms, to see convergence as well as divergence between the two and to evaluate missionary activity critically without the customary wholesale condemnation of it.

There is growing evidence that the naive characterization of anthropologists and missionaries portrayed in many novels and perpetuated in freshman anthropology classes, is beginning to crumble beneath the weight of more objective and balanced scholarship on the topic. Certainly the papers in this volume attest to this trend. Nevertheless, half-truths have a pernicious way of lingering on, contributing to the popular notion that anthropologists and missionaries are different animals, if not entirely different species. For example, missionaries have often been characterized as iconoclastic, puritanical bigots out to destroy cultures by introducing (forcing?)-religious change which precipitates rapid and destabilizing cultural change. In contrast, anthropologists have often been accused of trying to preserve societies and cultures from any outside influence for fear that this might contaminate "their people", their human specimens in a living museum. Although it may be easy for some of us to dismiss the hyperbole of these characterizations, there is unfortunately enough truth in both of them to give us pause. In fact, it is in the exercise of pausing to reflect on these caricatures that I began to think about the different epistemologies from which anthropologists and missionaries have characteristically functioned.

I have been aided in looking for a more balanced approach to the anthropological study of missionary activity by Ian Barbour's (1974) seminal book, Myths, Models and Paradigms. Barbour demonstrates the significant convergence of models in science and religion and identifies three epistemological foundations which are illuminating for our present topic of missionaries and anthropologists, namely: (1) naive realism, (2) instrumentalism, and (3) critical realism.

Naive realism was the dominant epistemology in science until the present century. With this perspective, scientists believed that their theories, "were accurate descriptions of the world as it is in itself" (Barbour 1974:34). There was believed to be a one-to-one relationship between theoretical terms and the physical objects they denoted. In other words, theory was seen as a photograph of reality. Naive realists interpret models literally, whether in religion or science, because they believe their model of the world, whether based on empirical research or divine revelation, is a literal picture of reality. For naive realists basking in their certitude, whether in religion or science, it is but one, short, logical step from this assumption to the assertion that their model is correct and true, while all others are inaccurate and false. Naive realists are literalists and seldom have room in their family of ideas for competing models that also make truth claims.

At the opposite end of the epistemological continuum lies the perspective of instrumentalism. From this point of view theories are not held to be representations of the real world because we have no basis for knowing if our knowledge of it is true. Theories are important, but only because they represent the creative products of people's imagination, not because they are tied closely to empirical observation. A theory, in both science and religion, according to instrumentalists, should not be judged by its truth or falsity since there is no way of knowing for sure whether a theory is true or false. It should be judged by its usefulness in enabling accurate predictions and in controlling physical and social environments. Instrumentalists are not literalists like naive realists. They tend, rather, to be relativists, unconcerned with the truth or falsity of models but interested in their useful function. Thus, anthropologists, for example, saddled with the doctrine of cultural relativism, can wax eloquent on the function of religion in a particular society, but they would not be prepared to deal with the truth or falsity of the truth claims made by the adherents of that religion.

There is, of course, an epistemological middle ground which Barbour calls critical realism. Critical realists, like naive realists, but unlike instrumentalists, believe that theories are representations of the world and that valid theories are true as well as useful (Barbour 1974:37). The critical realist recognizes the creative imagination in theory construction but also acknowledges that theories are incomplete and selective. Barbour (1974:37), arguing from a critical realist's perspective notes that, "No theory is an exact account of the world, but some theories agree with observations better than others because the world has an objective form of its own."

Whether in science or religion, critical realists take their models seriously, not literally. They are concerned with the unity of knowledge as an expression of truth and employ models in a quest for coherence of understanding. While critical realists reject the instrumentalist's conviction that contradictory models may have equal claims to truthfulness, they recognize that reality can be understood from the perspective of several complementary models. Critical realism thus avoids the rigid dogmatism of the naive realist, and eschews the laissez-faire relativism of the instrumentalist. Critical realism, while recognizing the limitations of all models, both in science and religion, and the inadequacy of literalism, relentlessly pursues an understanding of truth.

Recognizing that we are dealing with ideal types, and that there are always individual exceptions to the general pattern, I believe that the majority of missionaries have traditionally been naive realists with their religious models, and that, for the most part, anthropologists have functioned with a predominantly instrumentalist epistemology and a naturalistic worldview. If this is true, is it any wonder that sparks fly when defenders of each of these epistemologies confront each other in the field or classroom? A confrontation occurs and schismogenesis ensues as each proponent reacts to the reactions of the other, thus widening the epistemological gulf that separates them.

But what about the opposite scenario, when a missionary uses anthropological models and adopts a cross-cultural perspective, or an anthropologist is able to empathize with a missionary and gain an emic perspective on missionary activity? Whenever these two events occur, they may very well be the result of an epistemological shift toward critical realism. An example of this is the 16th century Franciscan missionary, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1500-1590), who some have called the "Father of Anthropology in the New World." With sixty years of "fieldwork" he understood the ancient Mexicans from the inside, and wrote about them in his masterpiece of anthropological research entitled, General History of the Things of New Spain.

Another example of the epistemology which Barbour has called critical realism is found in the papers bound in this volume. They are contributions from anthropologists who were invited to participate in a symposium at the XIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in August 1983 in Quebec. Many of the contributors have served as anthropologists and missionaries, and some have made major anthropological contributions to missiology.

Luzbetak and Sutlive begin by making explicit the implicit and underlying tension that has so often clouded the relationships between anthropologists and missionaries. They point toward hopeful ways in which anthropologists can develop a less rancorous and more objective understanding of missionary activity, and they encourage missionaries to become more open to the insights of anthropology.

In the next four papers by Tippett, Burridge, Arbuckle and Dye we come face to face with the world of missiology and are introduced to that creative interface of anthropology and theology. Here we see the perspective of critical realism at its best. Alan Tippett, drawing on a lifetime of missionary service and anthropological research, reminds us of the value of complementary perspectives, models and parallaxes that can enrich the world of missiology in this post-colonial era. Burridge addresses the problem of evil and notes that as converts to Christianity gain a new consciousness, socio-cultural change inevitably follows. Wayne Dye in his paper is also concerned with the impact of missionaries on cultural change, as indeed are most of the papers in this volume. His focus is on articulating a set of principles and guidelines for introducing cultural change and development. He is explicit in combing anthropological principles and biblical dictums in his model of development. Dye's paper is preceded by Gerald Arbuckle's contribution focusing attention on changing attitudes in the Catholic Church regarding the relationship between Christianity and Culture. He reviews the historical development of the terms that have been used to express the interaction of Christian faith with various cultures and demonstrates again the value of combining insights from the disciplines of anthropology and theology.

Loewen and Barker give us intriguing case studies from South America and Melanesia, documenting the changes that have occurred as a result of indigenes encountering Christian missionaries. Loewen shows how missionaries successfully introduced functional substitutes into a society, and Barker chronicles Melanesians' response to and interpretation of early missionary opposition to death rituals. Each is a splendid piece of ethnography dealing with culture change.

The next three papers are broadly concerned with methodology. Whiteman argues that anthropologists need to become more familiar with the large corpus of missionary documents which are often a valuable data base for anthropological research. Scotchmer employs an ethnohistorical approach in analyzing the work of a missionary in Guatemala covering six decades, and in doing so demonstrates that the ethnohistorical method enables us to see deeply into the lives of Guatemalan converts. Brandewie's paper also focuses on a significant individual, Wilhelm Schmidt, whose herculean efforts to organize the enthographic contributions of missionaries around the world resulted in the founding of the journal Anthropos and the establishment of the Anthropos Institute.

The final two papers in this baker's dozen are concerned with the value of anthropology for missionary training and developing effective missionary methods. Marvin Mayers suggests a novel approach to missionary work on the model of a master-apprentice relationship. Miriam Adeney, in her paper, argues that a good grasp of indigenous literary genres will help missionaries communicate more effectively because it will help them to think in local indigenous ways and because the missionary's message is itself primarily story.

The topics of anthropologist-missionary relationships, theology and missiology, research methods and missionary contributions to ethnology, missionary training and methods, and specific case studies have been included under the umbrella title of "Missionaries, Anthropologists and Cultural Change." Although the authors of these articles have not been selected by an epistemological litmus test, they nevertheless demonstrate personally and professionally that the epistemology which grounds them is closer to critical realism than to naive realism or instrumentalism. Why is this significant? It is significant because it has allowed them to understand the world from a perspective that takes both anthropology and missionary activity seriously. This is a rare combination but, as demonstrated in the following articles, a possible achievement. Moreover, this perspective enables a better integrated, more wholistic understanding of humanity where metaphysical conclusions are valued as truth claims within the framework of a chastened realization of the impact of culture on all our theorizing.

PROSPECTS FOR A BETTER UNDERSTANDING AND CLOSER COOPERATION BETWEEN ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND MISSIONARIES

LOUIS J. LUZBETAK, S.V.D.
Washington, D.C.

INTRODUCTION

There is growing evidence that anthropologists have a hostile rather than a friendly attitude toward missionaries. In discussing this hostility, the present paper has a practical and positive goal in mind -- not so much to take sides as to bring some thoughts together (some original and some not so original) that might contribute toward a better understanding and a closer cooperation between the two antagonistic groups.

But before entering into the two issues before us -- a better understanding and a closer cooperation -- let me indicate three facts that might facilitate a proper interpretation of what I have to say. (1) I am primarily concerned with today's and tomorrow's missionaries rather than with those of the past. (2) I cannot but feel that while the animosity of today's missionaries toward anthropologists is weakening, the hostility of anthropologists toward missionaries on the other hand seems to be on the rise. (3) Being an anthropologist and at the same time belonging to a missionary order with a strong anthropological tradition, and therefore sharing in the culture of both groups, I cannot but regret this rift and the resulting loss to both sides. I cannot but regret also the loss affecting the societies whose cause anthropologists and missionaries alike, at least in intent and sincere desire, equally champion.

TOWARD A BETTER UNDERSTANDING

Anthropologists and missionaries must talk to one another -- not merely against one another.[1] Dialogue between the two groups is in fact nothing new[2] and seems even to have become more frequent in recent years, evidenced, for instance, by such studies as Beidelman's Colonial Evangelism,[3] such provocative articles as those of Stipe (1980),[4] Salamone (1976; 1977; 1979), and Hiebert (1978), and the frank discussions at such professional gatherings as the annual American Anthropological Association meetings,[5] the 1975 Florida Symposium of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania,[6] and the 1983 International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. Important moves in the direction of dialogue have been made also within missiological and other professional church-related groups, such as the International Association for Mission Studies,[7] the American Society of Missiology,[8] the 1978 Bermuda Consultation on the Gospel and Culture convened by the Evangelical Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization,[9] and even the distinctly one-sided treatment of missionary action by the Barbados Symposium sponsored some seven years earlier by the World Council of Churches.[10]

There are especially two obstacles to the desired dialogue that merit our attention: (1) stereotyping and (2) world view barriers. I would like to take up the problem where Stipe's article "Anthropologists versus Missionaries: The Influence of Presuppositions" in Current Anthropology left off.[11]

A. The First Obstacle to a Better Understanding: Stereotyping

Roger Keesing may have been stereotyping the stereotyper, but he certainly was on the right track when he pointed out:

> The caricatured missionary is a strait-laced, repressed, and narrow-minded Bible thumper trying to get the native women to cover their bosoms decently; the anthropologist is a bearded degenerate given to taking his clothes off and sampling wild rites. [1976:459]

Or as others have described this stereotyping, missionaries are " opinionated, insensitive, neurotic [individuals] sent to the heathen because they were misfits at home" (Richardson 1976:482). Stereotyping is often nothing more than wholesale negativism and in the last analysis nothing less than outright prejudice; at times it is a form of reductionism; at times it is a form of ambivalence or some other type of unfounded generalization. Let me explain.

1) Negativism. The negativist does not define what he or she means by "missionary," that all-inclusive label embracing on the one hand a half-educated, or even uneducated, fire-eater and on the other hand someone who happens to be highly educated, with perhaps even a broader educational background and a greater cultural sensitivity than anthropologists normally have but who happens to be associated with a church-related organization somewhere in the non-Western world. In other words, a negativist is one who fails to identify his or her foe. Instead, the label "missionary" is attached to everyone connected with church growth, disregarding all differences -- denominational, national, educational, historical, personal -- and then shooting at will.[12]

2) Reductionism. Such broadsides are not always the result of a Malinowski-type anti-missionary prejudice but are rather what might simply be called "reductionism." Reductionism is a form of overgeneralization consisting in unduly attributing to certain factors, often important in themselves, the character of a lowest common

denominator. In his American Anthropological Association presidential speech in 1978, no less a figure than Francis L.K. Hsu seems to have fallen into this very trap when he tried to reduce missionary action to "expressions of the spirit of free enterprise applied in the religious field," "ethnocentrism," and racism (1979:523-525).

Mission history and missionary motivation, I am afraid, are far more complicated than that. Missionary policies, strategies, and motivations have actually differed not only from one historical period to another (and Christian missionary action is two thousand years old) but have actually differed also within the same period and same church tradition, making broad generalizations about the driving forces behind missionization highly questionable.[13] The African scene as depicted by Beidelman and the experience in Oceania as described by the Florida symposium of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (both referred to earlier) are good examples of how to treat this complex subject in its true complexity.

Even if ecclesiastical colonialism, imperialism, ethnocentrism, and racism have existed, a fact hardly anyone will deny, and even if to some extent they are still to be found today, such "common denominators" produce only a partial picture at best. Especially to be kept in mind is that today most churches have a broadened and more enlightened understanding of themselves and their role in the modern world, evidenced, for instance, by such landmarks as the Lausanne Covenant,[14] the proceedings of the various international missionary conferences of the World Council of Churches,[15] and especially the documents of the Second Vatican Council.[16] Nor should one overlook the more recent developments in this deeper understanding.[17]

One of the greatest weaknesses of reductionism is no doubt the disregard of the personal dimensions involved in missionary motivations and actions. Although missionaries have always been, and will be, children of their times (that is, members of their particular church and citizens of their particular country), there are very relevant individual differences that must not be left out of the picture. Not least important are the differences in spirituality, a very basic driving force in missionary action,[18] at least as important as any Western entrepreneurship, imperialism, or racism.

3) Ambivalence. Stereotyping takes place also when anthropologists, while condemning their missionary foes, hasten to soften their condemnation with the phony apology "Of course not all missionaries are like that," [implying "There are a few obvious exceptions. But mind you, these are exceptions."] Such ambivalence will never lead to the understanding we are looking for. Such "exceptions," I am afraid, are too frequent to be regarded as exceptions, and such assumptions merely set up barriers between missionaries and anthropologists rather than facilitate the desired dialogue (Burridge 1978:8).

4) Other Generalizations. Some anthropologists seem to vent their anger against church workers of today for the errors of the past, forgetting that they and their foes both live in the twentieth century. The missionary is not a contemporary of Constantine, Charlemagne, the Crusaders, the Inquisitors, the Conquistadors, or of more recent colonialists. This is not to deny that a considerable amount of past mistakes are still being repeated in post-Vatican II Catholicism, post-Lausanne Evangelicalism, and in present-day World Council of Churches.[19] In fact, one of the greatest benefits that the churches might derive from an honest, objective, frank but respectful exchange with anthropologists lies in the ability of culture specialists to point out such undesirable survivals, vestiges, and throwbacks. Dialogue is not destroyed by respectful, constructive criticism.

Constructive dialogue demands that anthropologists look very carefully and objectively at both sides of the ledger. The 19th and 20th century missionaries, for instance, were not only caught in the colonization process of their times but were also the pioneers in decolonization. A closer look at the other side of the ledger would reveal that it was especially the missionary who carried out the role of educator and humanizer throughout the mission world and mission history. The missionary, in a word, was more than an ethnocentric oppressor, colonizer, and imperialist.[20] Today, church workers the world over as a group are in the very forefront, second to no one, in defending human rights and promoting human betterment. Such facts are clearly indicated on that "other side of the ledger," which unfortunately too many anthropologists seem to refuse to look at. Keesing summed up that "other side" well when he said:

> But there is another side. Many Christian missionaries have devoted their lives in ways that have greatly enriched the communities where they worked. Many, in immersing themselves in other languages and cultures, have produced important records of ways now vanishing. But more important, in valuing these old ways and seeing Christianization as a challenge to creative synthesis of old and new, the best missionaries have helped to enrich human lives and provide effective bridges to participation in a world community. In a great many colonial regions, missions provided educational systems while colonial governments did not, and consequently, when the stage was set for the emergence of Third World leaders in decolonization, many who took the stage were able to do so because of their mission education. Missionaries, living in local communities where colonial exploitation had tragically disruptive consequences, have often been vocal critics of government policy or practice. No treatment of Christianity in the Third World could wisely overlook this humanitarian side. [1976:462]

Some generalizations that serve as obstacles to dialogue result from a more or less isolated experience that a particular anthropologist may have had with a particular missionary, or vice versa. The inadmissible but not at all uncommon logic seems to be: "If you've seen one, you've seen them all." The episodes one hears of missionary naivete and cultural insensitivity, some true and some not so true, tend to justify the caricature drawn. On the other hand, missionaries have had their experience with anthropologists too and can tell a few interesting stories of their own. In any case, the bad impression left behind by the anthropologist and the resulting caricaturization of the anthropologists as a result are both uncalled-for and damaging.

What we have said about stereotyping, the first obstacle to dialogue, has been summed up by Frank Salamone when he strongly advised that anthropologists and missionaries alike clearly identify their foes by specifying "which missionaries are likely to have trouble with which anthropologists in which situations" (1980:174).

B. The Second Obstacle to a Better Understanding: World View Barriers

Whether most anthropologists are atheists and agnostics or not, as is sometimes claimed,[21] what matters is the fact that the majority of anthropologists, without even realizing it perhaps, have a "religion" of their own, being mostly devout and practicing cultural relativists. At one extreme of the spectrum are the absolute cultural relativists; the rest are broken down into various "sects" according to the countless shades of relative cultural relativism.

1. Absolute Cultural Relativism

Absolute cultural relativists reject Christian missionary action outright. Their argument is simple enough: One culture is as good as another, and each culture must be judged by its own standards, within its own context and as an organic whole. Consequently, no society, Christian or otherwise, has the right to disturb this sacred wholeness, especially not with something as "meaningless" as religious beliefs.[22] The missionaries are, of course, regarded as the chief offenders in this respect. Missionaries "impose" their "unprovable" values on unwilling, unwitting, and usually defenseless individuals and societies; missionaries "destroy" cultures and "deprive" societies of their self-respect. Missionization is "essentially" and "intrinsically" unjustifiable ethnocentrism, nationalism, and exploitation. Mission action must, therefore, be regarded as a form of "colonialism," "imperialism," and even "ethnocide" and "genocide." (The rhetoric used here is, by the way, taken from actual anthropological literature, sometimes used also in speeches and writings of angry Third World churchmen whose patience with their slow-moving churches has been exhausted.)[23]

On the other hand, missionaries -- and I might add, most anthropologists -- insist that the 100% culture-free stance claimed by the absolute cultural relativists for themselves is psychologically impossible and therefore imaginary.[24] In fact, such absolutists are "missionaries" and "proselytizers" themselves who try to "impose" their world view on others. While they take pride in respecting all cultures, rightly esteeming the world views of tribal peoples and simple peasant folk and while admiring the philosophies and scriptures of the great non-Christian world religions, these same culture experts seem to forget that missionaries are human beings who live by a culture like all human beings. When the absolute cultural relativists deal with missionaries they throw their live-and-let-live tenets, their laissez-faire ethic, and their professed broadmindedness overboard.[25] Their rhetoric clearly betrays an ignorance and total disregard of the missionary's way of life, especially the value system that true Christians live by and the world view that makes them tick. Mission is essential to Christianity; in fact, Christianity is mission. For a Christian to abandon mission, as is being demanded of him by the absolutists, would be to abandon Christianity itself.[26]

The absolute cultural relativist's rebuttal is quick and simple: Say what you will, Christianity has no demonstrable cross-cultural validity and is therefore intrinsically ethnocentric and its mission is inadmissible.

In other words, an impasse has been reached. The simple fact of the matter is that the two world views, as has been emphasized by Stipe, Hiebert, and others, are incompatible, and dialogue between the two parties has become impossible. The adversary relationship will remain as long as missionaries cling to their absolute culture and the absolute cultural relativists remain absolute

TABLE 1

Missionaries vs. Anthropologists:
A Possible Synthesis of Differing World Views
(Some Examples)

	POLARIZATION		SYNTHESIS
	GENERAL MISSIONARY WORLD VIEW	ABSOLUTE CULTURAL RELATIVISM	RELATIVE CULTURAL RELATIVISM
Logic	"Either/or" Logic	"Either/or" Logic	"Both/and" Logic
General Orientation	Supernatural, theocentric	Natural, anthropocentric	Natural AND Supernatural
Supernature	1. God is absolute.	1. God is a cultural creation.	1. The Absolute can make cross-cultural sense through contextualization.*
	2. God is the Source of all truth, universally normative.	2. Human knowledge and experience are the sole and ultimate source of truth.	2. Faith is compatible with human experience.
	3. Faith is supernatural vision, one's most valued possession.	3. Faith is ethnocentrism. (Beliefs have value only within a given cultural context.)	3. Faith can make cross-cultural sense through contextualization.*
	4. Christianity IS mission.	4. Christian mission is imperialism.	4. Missions are justified if other faiths are respected and freedom of conscience safeguarded.**

TABLE 1

Missionaries vs. Anthropologists:
A Possible Synthesis of Differing World Views
(Some Examples)

(Continued)

	POLARIZATION		SYNTHESIS
	GENERAL MISSIONARY WORLD VIEW	ABSOLUTE CULTURAL RELATIVISM	RELATIVE CULTURAL RELATIVISM
Logic	"Either/or" Logic	"Either/or" Logic	"Both/and" Logic
General Orientation	Supernatural, theocentric	Natural, anthropocentric	Natural AND Supernatural
Nature	1. The individual rather than the society is evil.	1. Social systems rather than individuals are evil.	1. Individuals AND social systems are evil.
	2. Human commonalities are more numerous and more important than diversities.	2. Human diversity is greater and more important than human similarity.	2. Both human similarities and diversities are great and important.
	3. Human beings are endowed with a free will.	3. Human beings are subject to deterministic biological, ecological, and psychological forces.	3. Biological, ecological, and psychological factors are compatible with the notion of free will.
	4. Human brotherhood is universal in extent.	4. The parameters of human brotherhood are determined by the given culture.	4. Universal brotherhood is compatible with culturally defined structures.
Role Concept	Teach, "make disciples," change cultures!	Observe cultures. Preserve them. Hands-off policy!	Cultural adaptation and human progress call for both change AND preservation.

* For concept of "contexturalization," _see_ Haleblian (1983:95-111). For my understanding, _see_ Luzbetak (1981:39-57).

** Infra, footnote 28.

cultural relativists -- in a word, until hell freezes over.

2. Relative Cultural Relativism

Such polarization, however, need not and does not affect most anthropologists and most of today's Christian missionaries. Our chart indicates in broad outline a possible direction that could lead to a synthesis between mission action and cultural relativism and eventually to meaningful cooperation.

The real problem underlying the generally negative relationship between anthropologists and missionaries is the culturally conditioned, typically Western "either/or" logic affecting both groups. To achieve a synthesis, one must think rather in holistic, integrative terms of "both/and" rather than in dissociative, monodirectional terms. A "both/and" thinking habit allows for a wide range of views, from a respectful disagreement or mere tolerance of an Absolute to full acceptance. A closer look at the chart will show that relative cultural relativism can in various degrees be acceptable to most missionaries and to most anthropologists, thus paving the way for mutual respect, understanding, and eventual cooperation.

As indicated in our chart, the general orientation of the absolute cultural relativist might be described as a purely natural outlook on life; the missionary's outlook on the other hand is distinctly supernatural. The relative cultural relativist, like the overwhelming majority of human beings, finds no problem in combining a supernatural with a natural outlook. Similarly, while the missionary conceives his role as conversion and change, the absolute cultural relativist insists on the "sacred wholeness" of cultures that must remain undisturbed and intact, the role of the anthropologist being the observation and preservation of cultures (Hughes 1978:66-78).[27] The relative cultural relativist, in turn, hastens to point out that both preservation of cultures and culture change, observation of cultures and sharing of culture through teaching, should go hand in hand, thus enriching cultures and assisting societies in the acculturative process. As Oosterwal expressed it:

> Whereas a few decades ago acculturation was not considered a respectable topic in anthropology, today it is a focus of research and study. Some anthropologists have even done away with the concept of cultural relativism and insist that anthropologists should themselves become involved in changing "traditional" society according to certain ideological viewpoints. These changes in orientation may also help to look at Christian missionaries and evaluate their work more as successful acculturation, a process whereby "alternative systems," "meaningful substitutes," and "functional equivalents" have inevitably replaced the old cultures and societies. [1978:34]

But all this is not anthropology. Our underlying problem is not anthropology but differing world views -- differing indeed but reconcilable. One can be a true Christian and at the same time a true anthropologist; one can be a true anthropologist and at the same time respect Christian missions.

On the other hand, to deprive the Christian of the right to offer to his or her fellow human beings in a free and non-manipulative[28] manner precisely what Christians value most (their faith) would itself be oppression and imperialism, with the anthropologist as the oppressor.

TOWARD CLOSER COLLABORATION

A. Missiology

It is unfortunate indeed that many, if not most, anthropologists seem not even to be aware of the fact that there is a sizable number of reputable scholars scattered around the world pursuing a field of research called "Missiology."[29] Missiology is a multi-disciplinary field concerned not only with the theological and historical aspects of Christian missions but with the psychological, sociological, political, aesthetic, anthropological, and other dimensions of mission as well.[30] Missiologists are among the main pace-setters for mission policies, and missiologists are precisely the ones who are most ready for a positive, mutually beneficial relationship with anthropologists. They readily admit, for instance, the past mistakes that Christian churches have made by allowing themselves to be used by governments for political and expansionistic reasons.[31] (Anthropologists, by the way, have done the same during more recent colonial times and during and after World War II.) Missiologists also admit the lost opportunities for refining and further developing the centuries-old, potentially significant theory of cultural accommodation encouraged especially by the Roman Catholics (Luzbetak 1977) and the "three-self" theory (the formation of self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating missionary churches) encouraged especially by the Protestants (Beyerhaus, Lefever 1964:41; Kraft, Wisely 1979). Missiologists are generally sympathetic to the pleas of post-colonial Third World and other non-Western churches[32] that they be allowed to express their Christian values, symbols, philosophies, and structures, with their own hearts and souls, as Asians, Africans, Latin Americans, and Pacific Islanders.[33] In many ways, therefore, missiologists sound very much like anthropologists. Unfortunately, institutions die hard. Institutions are generally created by societies to facilitate cooperative behavior, but sometimes these very same institutions turn into human traps and cages (Hall 1977:7-21). Often it is not ill will and insensitivity on the part of the Western churches that is involved in the failure to bring about institutional change as much as an honest disagreement in theology, and often also a disagreement about timing and appropriateness of suggested procedures.[34] Missiologists are open to, and in fact would welcome, the insights of anthropological theory in dealing with the complex problem of directing desired change. If anthropologists are really concerned about what they call the "injustices" of Christian missions, let them light the proverbial candle instead of cursing the dark; instead, let them look into the very promising direction that modern missiology is leading the churches and extend a helping hand in areas of common interest.

B. Church Authorities

The second justification for an optimistic view regarding a possible closer cooperation between anthropologists and missionaries is the growing, sympathetic understanding of church authorities. The welcome direction of missiologists is not confined to books and therefore is not limited to the purely theoretical level. There are many signs showing that missionary churches are actually in the process of passing from dependence to independence and on to interdependence (Bühlmann 1977), perhaps not so fast as one would wish, but there definitely is movement. In some places, especially where local theologies are making greater headway, we may speak even of a "momentum" rather than of a "movement." Particularly since Vatican II,[35] this momentum is seen in such more recent developments as: ecumenism,[36] which encourages interdenominational respect and collaboration; decentralization[37]; a growing pluralism within the churches (Schillebeeck 1970); an ever-increasing appreciation of non-Christian religions and an engagement in inter-faith dialogue, with the consequent better understanding of and a new emphasis on freedom of conscience and religious liberty[38]; indigenization of local leadership and decision making[39]; and, above all, the now widely accepted policy of cultural contextualization of Christianity.[40]

C. Missionary Training and Attitudes

There is a third important reason for believing that cooperation between anthropologists and missionaries is possible -- and my statements will be fully documented. Most encouraging is the growing cultural sensitivity of missionaries, largely due to the prodding of local churches themselves. Only a few decades ago missionaries received very little training specifically for cross-cultural work. Their training was in essence identical with that given church workers being prepared for homeland activities, those destined for other cultures taking their preconceived notions and ethnocentrism with them to their respective mission fields. In this sense they were not different from Western government or business people overseas. Especially since World War II, however, even if perhaps not as rapidly and as deeply as one would wish, exposure to at least the basics of anthropology and sociology in orientation courses and as part of regular missionary training programs has become common and, in some cases, the rule rather than the exception.[41] Opportunities for field experience during the regular training programs as well as opportunities for graduate studies in missiology and anthropology[42] have greatly increased. Workshops and continuing education programs for returning missionaries and those on leave, with a strong emphasis on culturological issues, are now not at all unusual. Professional missiological associations[43] and research and planning centers,[44] as a rule committed to the principle of cultural adaptation, are now to be found in all parts of the world. Professional missiological journals (Anderson 1971:135-136) with a strong culturological tone have multiplied and taken on new meaning.[45] It is also not unusual for missions to have professional anthropologists on their staffs at the headquarters, training centers, and in the field working hand-in-hand with grassroots missionaries. In a word, if anthropologists are blind to this healthy development and think of the modern missionary only in outdated terms, we can readily understand why an adversary relationship rather than one of friendly cooperation prevails.

D. Anthropologist and Missionary Collaboration as a Fact

A fourth promising sign is the actual collaboration between missionaries and anthropologists. As a general rule, church workers recognize that they have much to gain from anthropology.[46] But is there anything anthropology can gain from missionaries?

1. Past Missionary Contributions to Anthropology

Let us look at the record. The indebtedness of anthropology to missionaries is enormous. In fact, one can almost say that missionaries have fathered anthropology, a fact that has led Burridge to see a strain of jealousy, a kind of Oedipus complex, lurking somewhere in the anthropologist's heart (Burridge 1978:5). As Edwin W. Smith in his presidential address to the Royal Anthropological Institute put it, "Because of the missionary's contribution to anthropology, as well as because of the utility of this science for the missionary in his daily activity, social anthropology might almost be considered a missionary science" (1934:xxxvii). Any anthropologist looking objectively at his or her debt to missionaries would recognize what Keesing has called "an old and enduring tradition of great missionary scholarship" (1976:459). The fact is that from the very beginning of mission history missionaries have been the chief observers of cultures. Much if not most of the early folklore of northern and eastern Europe, such as that of the Celts, Germans, Slavs, Greenlanders, has been derived from such 10th to the 13th century missionaries as Canon Adam of Bremen, Helmut of Lubeck, Monk Regino, Nestor, Bishop Kadlubek of Cracow, and many others. During the next three centuries there were even more missionary ethnographers -- John de Plano, John of Corvin, John of Marignola, Jordanus Catalani, and other missionaries to the Orient, to mention only a few. During the period of the great discoveries, it was again the missionary to the Americas, Oceania, and Africa who was the outstanding ethnographer of his times: e.g., Christoval Molino, José d'Acosta, Dobrizhoffer, de las Casas, Ricci, de Nobili, Sahagún, Lafitau. A little less than a century ago, it was R. H. Codrington, the author of The Melanesians (1891).

2. More Recent Missionary Contributions

Although some anthropologists tend to brush aside missionary contributions as amateurish and unreliable, the fact of the matter is that one need not have a degree in anthropology to gain important insight into the way a society copes with its economic, social, and ideational environment. Such individuals may not be able to toss anthropological jargon around or deal with theory and structures as freely as someone with a Ph.D. in anthropology, but their basically ethnographic contributions may nevertheless be very useful. This is particularly true if the missionary in question is acquainted with the fundamentals of anthropology and is assisted at the same time in his or her fieldwork by a qualified anthropologist (cf. Beidelman 1982:6-8; Loewen 1965:158-

190). Present-day experts in local theology like John Mbiti, Henri Maurier, and Raimundo Panikkar[47] (and there are many others) are delving into aspects of native religion and philosophy and producing information of great value to anthropology. Some of the finest work on tribal religions, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam (by Paul Schebesta and Heinrich Dumoulin, to mention only two examples)[48] has been done by mission personnel. Valuable also are the contributions not only of professional linguists like Kenneth Pike and Eugene Nida associated with church groups but also of the many non-professionals, who from the earliest times have gathered a veritable treasury of linguistic information.[49] As Mary R. Haas points out:

> The earliest grammars of the 16th and 17th centuries were the result of missionary efforts. Throughout the following centuries there has been a continuing flow of missionary grammars from all parts of the world. Some are good and some are bad and many are totally unknown to anthropological linguists. Many exist only in manuscript form and many have been lost. But the number of unwritten languages in the world is so great that, even near the end of the 20th century, more grammars of unwritten languages are being composed by missionaries than by linguists. Many of the best of these are being done by missionary linguists who have been trained in modern linguistic methods. Anthropological linguists cannot hope to do the job alone. [1976:45]

Important is that last sentence: Anthropological linguists cannot hope to do the job alone.

The greatest impetus in Roman Catholic circles came at the turn of the century with Father Wilhelm Schmidt's appearance on the linguistic and ethnological scene.[50] To too many anthropologists who unfortunately never or seldom read German and therefore who never or seldom read anything by Schmidt only about Schmidt -- to such, Schmidt is only a diehard diffusionist entangled in something called "Culture Circles." The truth is, however, that

Schmidt's impact on European anthropology, especially in German-speaking countries, and on Catholic missionaries and Catholic missiology in particular, is, as Firth rightly expressed it, "difficult to measure because of its pervasiveness."[51] This impact inadequately appreciated by most non-German historians of ethnology was not overlooked by Lowie in his History of Ethnological Theory when he observed:

> Ethnology owes much to Schmidt for the establishment of Anthropos, a journal second to none in the field. With unsurpassed energy Schmidt enlisted the services of missionaries scattered over the globe and thereby secured priceless descriptive reports. [1937:192]

The amount of useful research and publication for which Schmidt and his colleagues and collaborators are responsible is too vast to attempt a summary here (Luzbetak 1980). There is in fact no better proof that a friendly, co-operative relationship can indeed exist between anthropologists and missionaries than the almost eighty years of close collaboration between anthropologists (regardless of their particular Christian, Jewish, Buddhist, agnostic, or what-have-you affiliation) and the Anthropos Institute sponsored by a strictly missionary organization (Luzbetak 1980:17-18; Brandewie 1983c).

CONCLUSION

Let me sum up in one little question all that I have tried to say: Isn't the crux of our problem the fact that too many anthropologists are down on what they are not up on?

NOTES

1. By "talking to one another" and "dialogue" we mean all forms of communication (e.g., publications, workshops) that have as a goal a better, more respectful understanding of opposing views. Dialogue is not polemics or debate but a sharing of information about what a particular side holds and why.

2. One of the pioneers in missionary-anthropologist dialogue was the journal Anthropos, International Review of Ethnology and Linguistics, sponsored by the missionary Society of the Divine Word. The journal, now (1983) in its 78th year, has from its earliest days included among its collaborators not only missionaries of various denominations but also non-missionary professional anthropologists of a variety of persuasions. As a glance through past volumes of the Anthropos will show, the role played by professional, non-missionary collaborators has constantly grown, so that today they outstrip missionaries by far. For more information about the journal and the Anthropos Institute, see Rahmann (1956:1-18); Burgmann (1966:7-10); Saake (1980:1-6); Luzbetak (1980:14-19); Rahmann(1982:657-662); Henninger (1956:19-60). See also E. Brandewie, "Ethnology and Missionaries: One Case of the Anthropos Institute and Wilhelm Schmidt," a paper read at the XIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, August, 1983, and published in this volume.

   Among the early efforts at dialoguing must be included also the workshops known as Semaine d'Ethnologie religieuse held in Louvain in 1912 and 1913, in Tilburg (Netherlands) in 1922, in Milan in 1925, and in Luxembourg in 1929. It is also interesting to note that the Lateran museum, whose first director was Wilhelm Schmidt and which is now located in the Vatican, bore the name of "Missionario-Ethnologico," a name that in itself suggests a close relationship between missionary action and ethnology.

An effort similar to that of the Anthropos was the Catholic Anthropological Conference (later renamed to Catholic Anthropological Association) founded by Msgr. John Montgomery Cooper of the Catholic University of America. The stated goals of the Conference were: "The advancement of anthropological sciences through promotion of (a) anthropological research and publication by missionaries and professional anthropologists, and (b) anthropological training among candidates for mission work" (quoted from the inside cover of the Association's journal, the Anthropological Quarterly).

Later (1953-1966), a non-professional publication, Practical Anthropology, was founded primarily to communicate anthropological theory to Protestant missionaries (Smalley 1963:1-5).

3. T.O. Beidelman, anthropologist and professed agnostic, looks objectively at various missionary issues and their relation to colonialism, such as the self-stereotyping of missionaries, the contrasting image of the local community, the missionary's understanding of the local culture, the impact of missionary action, and the deep contradictions involved. Unfortunately, not included in the scope of the work are two important driving forces in missionary work, personal faith values and spirituality. (Beidelman 1982. See also Beidelman 1974:235-249).

4. Stipe's article "Anthropologists versus Missionaries: The Influence of Presuppositions" (1980:165-179), originally presented at the 1977 American Anthropological Association meeting in Houston, Texas, touches on the problem of stereotyping and indicates the key role played by the world view of anthropologists (the organic-unity concept and the meaninglessness of religious beliefs) in the antagonistic relationship between anthropologists and missionaries.

5. See the Abstracts of the American Anthropological Association (1977:20-21; 1982:156-157).

6. For papers read at the symposium, see Boutilier, Hughes, and Tiffany (1978).

7. The objectives of the International Association for Mission Studies (IAMS), an international, interconfessional and interdisciplinary professional society, are: "to promote the scholarly study of theological, historical, and practical questions relating to mission; to disseminate information concerning mission among all those engaged in such studies and among the general public and to publish the results of research; to relate studies in mission to studies in theological and other disciplines; to promote fellowship, cooperation and mutual assistance in mission studies; to organize international conferences of missiologists; to encourage the creation of centers of research; and to stimulate publications in missiology." The Association publishes a semi-annual News Letter and sponsors workshops and consultations on bibliography, documentation, and archives.

8. The American Society of Missiology (ASM) is a professional association for mission studies in North America with more than 700 members. Its objectives are: "(1) to promote the scholarly study of theological, historical, social and practical questions relating to the missionary dimension of the Christian church; (2) to relate studies in missiology to the other scholarly disciplines; (3) to promote fellowship and cooperation among individuals and institutions engaged in activities and studies related to missiology; (4) to facilitate mutual assistance and exchange of information among those thus engaged; (5) to encourage research and publication in the study of Christian missions." It holds an annual meeting and publishes Missiology: An International Review, a quarterly continuing the original journal Practical Anthropology (supra, note 2). Missiology, like its sponsoring association, is interconfessional and multi-disciplinary.

9. The papers of the Consultation are available in summary form (37 pages), Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, 1978; the full text has also been published (Stott and Coote, 1979).

10. "The Declaration of Barbados for the Liberation of the Indians" appeared in the International Review of Missions in 1972, no.243, reprinted in R. Pierce Beaver (ed.), The Gospel and Frontier Peoples (1973: 369-375). Although totally negative in tone in dealing with missionary action, the statement serves a useful purpose by highlighting some of the undeniable abuses affecting the Indian populations of Latin America.

11. Some of the ideas touched upon in the present article have been treated also elsewhere, and at greater length, see, for instance, Tippett (1973a; 1973b; 1973c); Beidelman (1974); Hiebert (1978); Burridge (1978); Hughes (1978). For a basic bibliography on anthropologist-missionary relationships, see especially Stipe (1980:178-179).

12. Examples of anti-missionary diatribe are Loth (1963) and Mohr (1965). More subtle perhaps but not less negative in nature are, for instance, Chagnon (1974) and Tonkinson (1974).

13. For a full coverage of the history of missionary models, see: Latourette (1937-1945); Mulders (1961); Schmidlin (1933); Neill (1964). For the history of the diversity and complexity of mission methods and motivations in capsule form, see Beaver (1970); Verkuyl (1978:164-193); Nemer (1979). For recent colonial times, see Nemer (1981); Hutchison (1983, 1982); for Oceania, see Forman (1978:35-63).

14. The proceedings of the Lausanne conference are available in full (Douglas 1975). For an update on the Lausanne conference, see, for instance, IAMS News Letter (May-October 1980:19-50); Scheffbuch (1981).

15. The most recent World Missionary Conference was held in Melbourne, Australia in 1980. The basic papers read were made available by the World Council of Churches (1980) and G. Anderson (1982). A clear, concise presentation of the thinking of the Melbourne conference was published by Jean Stromberg (1983).

16. Many excellent editions of the documents of the Second Vatican Council as well as commentaries on these documents are available. Good English translations of the Vatican II and related documents include Flannery (1975; 1982) and Abbott (1966). Among the better-known English commentaries are: Lindbeck (1970); Vorgrimler (1967-1969); Kloppenburg (1974); and J.H. Miller (1966).

17. Pope Paul VI's *Evangelii nuntiandi* (1975) and the so-called "Puebla Documents" (Eagelson, Scharper 1979) are regarded as post-conciliar milestones in mission thinking. For easily understandable presentations of current Catholic missiological trends, see Ryan (1977); Bohr (1977); McBrien (1980); Gremillion (1976); Rzepkowski (1976). For Protestant trends, see Glasser, McGavran (1983); Bassham (1979); Verkuyl (1978). Cf. note 30.

18. Theoretical attention to the role of spirituality specifically for mission is a recent development. An excellent paper on the subject was read by Lawrence Nemer at the annual meeting of the American Society of Missiology, Wheaton, Ill., June 16, 1983, published in *Missiology* (1983:419-434). Recent full-length studies are: Godwin (1977); Reilly (1978); Bosch (1979).

19. I treated this topic at some length in my American Society of Missiology presidential address "Two Centuries of Cultural Adaptation in American Church Action: Praise, Censure or Challenge?" (1977:51-72). For an objective coverage of ecclesiastical neo-colonialism, paternalism, and racism, see Bonk (1980:285-306); K. Müller (1979:49-65); Bühlmann (1979); Shorter (1972:76-82); Neill (1966).

20. The humanizing role of the missionary is treated in most histories of mission action (*supra*, note 13).

21. As claimed, for instance, by Stipe (1980:167).

22. Wholeness and meaninglessness are the two basic

reasons suggested by Stipe for the anti-missionary bias of anthropologists (1980:165-179).

23. A good example of what I mean by "rhetoric" is the choice of words in the treatment of missions in the Declaration of Barbados (supra, note 10). In contrast, see the tempered language of K.E. Neisel's introduction to the report of the UNELAM meeting held in Asunsion, Paraguay, March 7-10, 1972 (Beaver 1973:376-380).

24. In my Church and Cultures (1963:33), I stress the fact that the justification for applying anthropology to any cause whatsoever must be sought outside of the field of anthropology -- in one's philosophy of life. Applied anthropology in any form is "interventionism," and its justification must be the "good" of others, the "betterment" of human conditions, the educational or technological "advancement" of peoples, the "necessity" or "beneficial nature" of democracy, socialism, or Christianity; the justification must be, for instance, in the direction of Sol Tax's "self-determination", Holmberg's "human dignity", or St. Thomas Aquinas' "humanness" or "human self-realization" (Crollius 1980:253-274; Gritti 1975). In a word, the justification of any form of applied anthropology is to be sought in one's philosophy of life, not in anthropology as such (Hiebert 1978:165-180; Hughes 1978:65-66; Fonseca 1982:364-369).

25. As Burridge put it: There is free "speech" but not free "preach" (1978:8).

26. For the clear stand regarding the essential nature of Protestant evangelicalism, see especially the Lausanne Covenant (Douglas 1975:3-9). "In the church's mission of sacrificial service evangelism is primary. World evangelization requires the whole Gospel to the whole world" (Lausanne Covenant, no.6). Mainline Protestantism holds also that "the place of mission in the life of the Church must be the central place, and none other" (History and Records of the Edinburgh Conference, p. 150). Dr. Philip Potter, the General Secretary of the World

Council of Churches at the time declared at the Melbourne Conference that the Kingdom of God was the very "raison d'etre of the Church" (1980:15). The official teaching of the Roman Catholic Church has been no less clearly expressed. For instance, in the Constitution on the Church (De ecclesia) we read: "The obligation of spreading the faith is imposed on every disciple of Christ, according to his state" (no.17). Or again, in the Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church (Ad gentes), in the very first sentence, we read that "the Church, driven by the inner necessity of her own catholicity, and obeying the mandate of her Founder (Mk 16:16), strives ever to proclaim the Gospel to all men." Or again, "The pilgrim Church is missionary by her very nature" (no.2). Or finally, "...every disciple of Christ, as far as in him lies, has the duty of spreading the faith" (no.29). In a word, missions are not accessory to being a Christian but rather lie at the very heart of Christianity.

27. The continuity of cultures in their "intact wholeness" so highly valued and romanticized by absolute cultural relativists has actually become an impossible pipe-dream in today's "global village". Even if no missionaries existed today, the influence of international business and industry, military bases, political ideologies, medical and general education -- all facilitated through worldwide communications systems -- would reach the remotest areas of the world and, independently of Christian missions, could trigger changes throughout the most "blissfully isolated" cultures, including changes in traditional beliefs and morality. The teaching of sound Western health practices might conceivably weaken New Guinea traditional dependence on the ancestors even more than all the missionary preaching in the world (cf. Tippett 1973a).

28. By "manipulation" is meant any form of trickery, deceit, coercion, or enticement that deprives the individual of his or her freedom. The use of effective communication arts and supporting sciences like psychology, sociology, and anthropology in dealing with other cultures is not manipulation unless

trickery, deceit, coercion, or such unjustifiable enticement are present. As the Second Vatican Council's Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World points out:

> ...God willed that man should "be left in the hand of his own counsel" (Eccl 15:14) so that he might of his own accord seek his creator and freely attain his full and blessed perfection by cleaving to him. Man's dignity therefore requires him to act out of conscious and free choice. [Gaudium et spes, no.17]

In the Council's Declaration on Religious Liberty we read:

> ...the human person has a right to religious freedom. Freedom of this kind means that all men should be immune from coercion on the part of individuals, social groups and every human power so that, within due limits, nobody is forced to act against his convictions in religious matters in private or in public, alone or in associations with others. The Council further declares that the right to religious freedom is based on the very dignity of the human person as known through the revealed word of God and by reason itself. [Dignitatis humane, no.2]

The clear teaching of the Church is that nothing could be more unchristian and objectively wrong than the methods of the Spanish Inquisition or the "two swords" policy of the Conquistador era.

> From the very beginnings of the Church the disciples of Christ strove to convert men to confess Christ as Lord, not however by applying coercion or with the use of techniques unworthy of the Gospel but, above all, by the power of the word of God. [Dignitatis humanae, no. 11]

One should also note the deep respect that the Second Vatican Council has for non-Christian religions: Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, no. 13, 16f; the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, no. 6, 10f, 22, 34; Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christians, no.2; the Decree on Ecumenism.

Although ecumenical Protestants may not be so certain as are the Roman Catholics about the actual outcome of God's activity within non-Christian faiths, they readily acknowledge God's presence and activity in such non-Christian faiths and show deep respect for this presence and activity (Neill 1961). The general attitude of mainline Protestantism was expressed at the world missionary conference in Melbourne by Philip Potter in the following unmistakable terms:

> Biblical realism demands the encounter with culture and other faiths in dialogue... "Culture shapes the human voice that answers the voice of Christ." It is also in this spirit that dialogue with people of other faiths and ideologies is conducted. Those who gathered at Edinburgh in 1910 would rejoice to see the day when there were such rich and varied expressions of the Christian faith around the world and where dialogue with people of living faiths has reached such integrity and depth. [1980:15]

The ability of non-Christian faiths to save is least acceptable to the evangelical churches who on biblical grounds hold with the Lausanne Covenant that "all men have knowledge of God through his general revelation in nature. But we deny that this can save...." (no.3). Non-Christian religions demand the Christian's respect, therefore, not because they save but because they provide knowledge worthy of highest esteem. In any case, every trace of coercion must be excluded (cf. Glasser, McGavran 1983:227-232).

29. Missiology has been called by other names as well. Both Gustav Warneck, the father of modern Protestant missiology, and Joseph Schmidlin, Warneck's Roman Catholic counterpart, used the term Missionslehre ("mission theory"), a name that was superceded by Missionswissenschaft ("mission science"). British usage seems to prefer "theology of mission(s)," while science missionaire ("missionary science") has found acceptance mainly among French-speaking missiologists. "Missiology", however, is the most widely used term today.

30. For brief overviews of the field of missiology, see Luzbetak (1979:416-419); Neill, Anderson, Goodwin (1971). For the biblical basis of missionary work: Roman Catholic, Senior, Stuhlmueller (1983); mainline Protestant, Blauw (1962); evangelical Protestantism, Peters (1972). For a general, full-length coverage of mission theory: Roman Catholic, Schmidlin (1931), A. Freitag (1962), Ohm (1962), Charles (1956), Seumois (1973-81), Motte, Lang (1982); Protestant, Verkuyl (1978), Neill (1964), Newbegin (1978), Bassham (1979), Glasser, McGavran (1983). For mission history, see above, note 13.

31. Among the most frank and objective evaluations of missions by missiologists that come to mind are the aptly entitled works by Wahlbert Bühlmann, The Missions on Trial (1979), James A Scherer, Missionary Go Home! (1964). and Max Warren's Caesar, the Beloved Enemy (1955).

32. Among the most common topics discussed in missiological journals and at missionary gatherings since World War II have been problems of cultural accommodation, indigenization, and contextualization (incarnation, inculturation).

33. A good example of the depth of feeling and pain caused by missionary insensitivity is Mwasaru's "Africanization" (1975:121-128). The depth of this feeling has also been made clear by the Third World theologians at meetings in Dar is Salaam (1976), Accra (1977), Colombo (1979), and Sao Paulo (1980), and is evident in much of liberation theol-

ogy. In fact, the feeling, especially a few years ago, was so deep that some local church leaders called for nothing less than a "moratorium" on all foreign aid, a temporary halt to, and withdrawal of, all outside assistance in funds and personnel so as to allow the mission churches the time necessary to reflect and plan and to develop their own strength and selfhood unencumbered or pressed by foreign church authorities. The argument for this radical approach is the adage "He who pays the piper calls the tune." A whole issue of the International Review of Mission (1975, No. 254) was devoted to the "moratorium." Evangelical churches and the Roman Catholics generally reject the moratorium on theological and practical grounds (Cf. Luzbetak 1977:69; Anderson 1974:43-45; I-DOC 1974:49-86; Tippett 1973b:275-278; Wagner 1975:165-176; Bosch 1978:287-291).

34. The inadmissibility of plural marriages, for instance, is an issue strongly debated among missionaries: while most missionary groups resist all change regarding the prohibition of plural marriages as clearly opposed to faith and expressly forbidden by the Bible, others question or reject the monogamy rule as being only a trapping of history (cf. Hillman 1975, 1982).

35. Supra, note 16.

36. For a commentary on the Second Vatican Council's attitude toward ecumenism, see Beck (1975:419-424). For a practical guide based on Vatican II, see Sheerin (1966).

37. With the Second Vatican Council, the Catholic Church began to move away from its past absolute monarchical model. Today, the pope is no longer looked upon as the sole ruler of the Church. The supreme authority is vested rather in the whole college of bishops headed by the pope. The bishops govern their local churches not as representatives of the pope but exercise an authority proper to each. (Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, nos.22-27.)

Decentralization has been achieved also through the growing importance of the regional conferences of bishops and through the regularly held Roman Synod with representatives from all Bishops' Conferences.

Still further decentralization is being effected through declericalization. The role of the laity is growing. As the Decree on the Apostolate of Lay People (no.3) emphasizes, the laity are full members of the People of God and therefore share directly in the mission of the Church. A classic among the many theological studies on the subject is Yves Congar's Lay People in the Church (1965). One cannot but recognize the fundamental shift from a more or less exclusively clerical church to one with considerable lay influence and involvement, e.g., in various lay ministries, in diocesan and parish councils, in administrative posts formerly occupied by clerics alone. Despite the claims to the contrary, the role of women in the Catholic Church has grown considerably in recent years (cf. Motte 1984:9-10). Although Paul VI has expressly excluded women even from such lesser ministries as that of lector and acolyte (Apostolic letter Ministeria quaedam of 1972), the new Code of Canon Law seems not to. Although the clear pronouncements of John Paul II exclude women from ordination to the priesthood, the Pontifical Biblical Commission has gone on record as not having found any conclusive biblical evidence that would exclude women from ordination (Origins, July 1, 1976, 6:92-96; see also June 25, 1981, 11:81, 83-91; May 20, 1982, 12:1-3; September 15, 1983, 13:238-241.) The Canon Law Society of America has likewise gone on record as favoring a greater role of women in the Church (Coriden 1977:150-160). For a good bibliography on women and the priesthood, see Stuhlmueller (1978).

38. Supra, footnote 28. The Second Vatican Council insists, for instance, that: non-Christian religions (Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and tribal religions) deserve respect (Ad gentes, nos. 10; Dignitatis humanae, nos.2-4; Lumen gentium, no.16); non-Christian religions provide not only human answers to life's problems but precious religious

values as well (Gaudium et spes, no.12); non-Christian religions reflect true human goodness expressed in their respective rites and symbols, and they contain true treasures of aescetical and contemplative life (Ad gentes, nos. 15, 18); non-Christian religions are a part of God's own design (Ad gentes, no.3); in fact, even doctrinal differences demand the respect of Christians inasmuch as they contain an element of truth (Dignitatis humanae, no.2; Gaudium et spes, no. 57; Ad gentes, nos.11,18); religious freedom is inviolable (Dignitatis humanae, nos. 2-4); Christians should enter into dialogue with non-Christians in a spirit of love and out of a sincere desire for mutual enrichment (Gaudium it spes, no.92; Ad gentes, nos. 11f., 16,18,34; Dignitatis humanae, nos. 2f,5). This summary is based on McBrien (1980:667-690). For further reading on the Council's attitude toward non-Christian faiths, see: K. Muller (1968); Rouseau (1981); Dawe, Carman (1978); Anderson, Stransky (1981); Samartha (1974).

39. Evidenced especially by the policy and practice of ordaining indigenous bishops for Third World Churches whenever possible, by the establishment of the various regional conferences of bishops throughout the world, and by the international composition of the Synods of Bishops.

40. Pope John Paul II recently founded a special Papal Council on Cultures (Osservatore Romano, 21-22 Maggio 1982). Worship, training of clergy, and missionary methods are to be tailored to fit the particular time and place (Sacrosanctum concilium, nos. 37-40, 61, 107, 128; Lumen gentium, 13,16,17; Gaudium et spes, 53,58; Ad gentes, 10,11,15,16,22-,26). Church workers are to be trained in, and institutions are to be founded for, such scientific fields as sociology, anthropology, psychology, missiology, comparative religion (Ad gentes, no.6; Nostra aetate, no.2).

> Since the proper and methodical exercise of missionary activity demands that those who work for the Gospel should be scientifically prepared for their tasks, especially for

dialogue with non-Christian religions and cultures, and should be effectively assisted in carrying them out, it is desirable that for the good of the missions there should be fraternal collaboration among certain scientific institutes which specialize in missiology and in other sciences and arts useful for the missions, such as ethnology, linguistics, the history and science of religions, sociology, pastoral techniques and the likes. [Ad gentes, no.34] (For commitment of U.S. Catholic hierarchy to church-related research, see Origins, May 25, 1978.)

41. The 1982 edition of Marc's Directory; North American Protestant Schools and Professors of Mission includes no less than 217 schools and 453 professors of missions.

42. The International Bulletin of Missionary Research (July 1983:104-134) lists 145 degree-granting institutions and 934 doctoral dissertations (1945-1981) in mission studies in North America alone. R. Pierce Beaver presents an historical overview of graduate studies in missiology in his "The American Protestant Theological Seminary and Mission: An Historical Survey" (1976:75-87).

43. For a partial list of missiological associations, see Verkuyl (1978:87) and IAMS' Members of the International Association for Mission Studies (1981: 25-31).

44. The Directory of Study Centres (World Council of Churches, 1982) contains 82 pages of Protestant centers and a partial listing of Catholic institutes. (Cf. also Anderson 1971:131-135 and Verkuyl 1978:72-73.)

45. Cf. Anderson (1971:135-136); Neill, Anderson, Goodwin (1971:312-313). The largest circulation is that of the International Bulletin of Missionary Research with 9,000 subscribers. The leading Catholic publisher of missiological literature in the United

States is the Orbis Press (Maryknoll, N.Y.); leading Protestant publishers are the Friendship Press (publishers for the N.C.C.), William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company (Grand Rapids, Michigan), and the William Carey Library (Pasadena, California).

46. Much has been written regarding the relevance of anthropology to missionary work: e.g., Barney (1981: 172-177); Winter and Hawthorne (1981:361-389); Jacobs, Loewen (1974:161-174); Henninger (1967:206-221); Nida (1954; 1960; 1966); Loewen (1965:158-190); Klostermeier (1964:27-33); Luzbetak (1961; 1963); Kraft (1979); Hesselgrave (1978); Mayers (1974); Engel (1979).

47. Among Mbiti's important contributions we find, for instance, his *Concepts of God in Africa* (1970a) and *African Religions and Philosophy* (1970b). Cf. John W. Kinney, "The Theology of John Mbiti: His Sources, Norms and Method," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, (1979, 3:65-67). Henri Maurier produced the very useful *Philosophie de l'Afrique noire* (1976). R. Pannikar authored such works as *The Vedic Experience: Mantramanjarī* (1977), *The Intra-Religious Dialogue* (1978), and *The Unknown Christ of Hinduism* (1981).

48. H. Dumoulin is known for his scholarly works on Buddhism, Zen Buddhism, and Japanese religion: e.g., *A History of Zen Buddhism* (1963), *Östliche Meditation und christliche Mystik* (1966), and *Christianity Meets Buddhism* (1974). Paul Schebesta is known for his anthropological fieldwork among pygmies and for his many publications, for a listing of which see Rahmann (1957:274-276).

49. A wealth of information on missionary contribution to linguistic research will be found in A. Burgmann's article in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (vol. 8, 1967) under "Linguistics, Missionary Contribution to." See also Nida (1952). The most active group of missionaries engaged in linguistic work today is the Summer Institute of Linguistics/Wycliffe Bible Translators whose membership includes over 100 Ph.D.'s and almost 600 M.A.'s. Reviewing their

catalogue of 39 pages (1974 SIL Publications Catalogue) Charles Kraft writes:

> Both missionary practice and missiological theory are greatly indebted to the prodigious efforts of the Summer Institute of Linguistics/Wycliffe Bible Translators. An organization that presently sponsors more than 3,000 missionaries worldwide, SIL is both the most active producer of Bible translations (more than 500 completed or in process) and the largest producer of scientific linguistic work in the world. [1974:400]

This favorable evaluation contrasts with such opinions about the SIL as found in Hvalkof and Aaby's biased Is God an American? An Anthropological Perspective on the Missionary Work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (1981).

50. The best and easily available biography and evaluation of Father Wilhelm Schmidt is that of Joseph Henninger (1956:19-60). See also Luzbetak (1980:14-19) and Brandewie (1983a, 1983b, 1983c).

51. Cited from Henninger (1956:56).

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THE ANTHROPOLOGIST AND THE MISSIONARY: IRRECONCILABLE ENEMIES OR COLLEAGUES IN DISGUISE

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INTRODUCTION

> "Two weeks ago my telephone rang and a voice said, 'Christ is the answer.' But, I replied, what is the question? You, sir, have raised a question and have given us an answer: Anthropologists and missionaries, are we 'irreconcilable enemies' or 'colleagues in disguise?' Sir, we are neither! Sir, we don't even live in the same world!"

This comment to an initial reading of this paper during the XIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences at the University of Laval, Quebec City, dramatically illustrates the hostility which has characterized the attitudes of anthropologists and missionaries towards one another. For, despite--or more honestly, because of--a number of shared concerns to be identified and discussed below, anthropologists and missionaries have been secretly suspicious and openly critical of one another.

This paper is an attempt to (1) look at examples of our frequently polarized positions, (2) summarize and analyze our criticisms of one another, (3) trace the backgrounds of both professions, and (4) discuss our differences, similarities, and exchanges. For, like it or not, we do live in the same world and, I believe, have far more in common than both anthropologists and missionaries may admit.

A wise and insightful scholar observed recently that he suspects the reason many anthropologists do not like missionaries is that they see so much of themselves in them and, unconsciously, recognize that in many ways they are quite similar. Both are much concerned with the human condition, and each, in its participants' own ways, very idealistic. The suggestion, however, that likenesses breed dislike is bound to evoke responses ranging from restrained denial to unrestrained outrage. One may ask, why the usual and inappropriate intensity of resistance to such an association--or even to any relationship?

A note about the format of this paper is necessary: There is among the Iban of Sarawak an institutionalized conversation, randau ruai, which takes place in the evenings after adults have returned from their rice fields or from other work. The conversations (randau) take place on the verandah (ruai) of the longhouse and take as many directions as a tendril or creeper (also randau). The organization of this paper reflects as many directions and associations as the randau ruai, as will become apparent to the reader.

One caveat: Though role-play is continuous and changes regularly according to our situations, I suspect that there is a persistence of posture with missionaries--and anthropologists. Once one or the other, there is a residue of the role, so that it is difficult if not impossible to be entirely free of the attributes of that profession.

I. Two Different Worlds

"Which represents the greater threat to the societies of Southeast Asia: the war in Viet Nam or missionaries?" My wife and I were stunned by this insensitively loaded and confused question, put to us by a fellow graduate student during our first department party at the University of Pittsburgh.[1] Having just returned from our second tour as missionaries, we felt the equation of "war" with missionaries illogical as well as hostile. We were to find subsequently that while questions and statements might be posed more gently, there did indeed exist a widespread, although by no means universal, hostility among anthropologists towards missionaries.

The hostility (or suspicion) is by no means one way. Last year I was invited to speak to the faculty and students of the Department of Religion at the College of William and Mary on, "An Anthropology of Religion." "But how can you talk about 'an anthropology of religion?'" my son and another religion major, newly elected to Phi Beta Kappa, asked me at dinner a few nights before the colloquium. To my rejoinder, "Why not?" they explained that anthropology and religion are antithetical because anthropology is anti-religion or, at best, irreligious.

Two years ago, I was invited to present a paper, "Is Evolution a Religion?" at the state meetings of Sigma Xi, The Scientific Research Society. My thesis put simply was, science--in which evolution is studied--and religion are two different--though not necessarily discrete--ways of interpreting the world, life, and human experiences, and that each has its own problems for study, "data base", and methodologies. Science has two canons: verification and replication. Religion requires what Soren Kierkegaard called "a leap of faith." Intuition is important to science, but science is a self-limiting field of study of observable phenomena and processes. Observations are important to religion, but "faith is the evidence of things not seen." There was a scientific creationist in the audience, and he attacked each speaker in turn. At the end of the program when we had a chance to chat, I asked him why he was so aggressive in his remarks to the participants. (In fairness I must acknowledge that he dealt quite gently with me.) His reply was, "As a witness to my faith." How strange, I remarked, for St. John observed that "all who love are born of God"--and, I went on, I found nothing of love or compassion in his performances.

The thesis of this paper is that, despite such examples and the enormous distrust by some members of each group of most (or all) members of the other group, the roles of anthropologists and missionaries are not antithetical. Rather, the subjects of their concern are the same--humankind--and by the adherence of each profession to its principles, their roles are complementary though their cultures, assumptions, strategies, and purposes may be markedly different.

Before examining the development of the two disciplines, and what I believe to be the complementarity of the roles, it is useful to indicate and comment on some of the charges made by practitioners of the two cultures. Inasmuch as these criticisms have come from us anthropologists, we shall consider these and, where appropriate, note the responses of us missionaries.

II. Charges and Comments

Criticisms of missionaries by anthropologists range from caricatures of them as persons to stereotypes of the attitudes and activities of their societies. While the study of pattern and process is important in every science, it must be noted that many of the allegations made by members of both groups are impressionistic, uninformed, and erroneous. We shall proceed from the most specifically individual to the most inclusive.

A. Missionaries are misfits in their own societies. This is a major reason for their going to other societies.

Concerning this personal motivation, Beidelman suggests of missionaries in earlier (and current?) generations that

> they were misfits in their own society (1982:99). . . . Therefore they jumped at the

> chance to go to a foreign country and prove how good they were. Many of the missionaries were also of the lower classes of countries such as England (1982:62).

"Fits" and "misfits" are situational, circumstantial. Granting that every person has been in situations in which they felt out of place, or were actually out of place, and that undoubtedly some missionaries--as well as colonial administrators and civil servants (cf. Hahn 1974; Orwell)--went from lower class to elite status, evidence for a serious consideration of the charge is inconclusive. One of the sociological statistics that probably is close to being accurate is that 98 percent of us are able to negotiate the social roles demanded of us, experiencing and inflicting on our fellows tolerable amounts of discomfort. By extrapolation, and on the basis of frequent, close observations, I would argue that most missionaries I have known were reasonably well adjusted prior to taking up their vocation, and have proven capable of fitting into a foreign society and re-adjusting to their own society upon their return from service abroad.

While any response must be in part self-serving (and I confess that I may be charged with protesting too much), the caricaturing of missionaries is patently as unfair as is Kluckhohn's observation that

> anthropology . . . has a peculiar appeal to those who are dissatisfied with themselves or who do not feel at home in their own society. Consciously or unconsciously, they seek other ways of life where their characteristics are understood and accepted or at any rate, not criticized. Like many historians, the historical anthropologist has an urge to escape from the present by crawling back into the womb of the cultural past (1970:14).

Kluckhohn's analysis is reminiscent of a remark made by the late George Peter Murdock, that "anthropologists (often do not fit into society for they) are the most skeptical of people." Skepticism is not synonymous with maladjustment, and while we acknowledge that a number of anthropologists have entered the discipline following some personal crisis, or in an effort to work through some personal problem, we cannot caricature the members of our profession as "misfits" any more than we can all missionaries.

B. Missionaries have been arrogant, disrespectful, and insensitive to the people to whom they have gone. They have treated "their people" with pity, condescension, or a patronizing attitude.

We must confess that there are lamentable examples of missionaries who have assumed arrogant postures vis-a-vis the people with whom they worked. The pioneer Moffat wrote that it would be useless to describe the religion of the Bechuanas, Hottentots, and Bushmen for, he believed, Satan had erased "every vestige of religious impression from (their) minds . . . " (1842). Michener's description of missionaries in Hawaii or Han Su Yin's of the missionary in Nepal (The Mountain is Young) reinforce images of "the ugly missionary."

And there does exist a deplorable ethnocentrism and particularism among well-educated and widely travelled missionaries who ought to know better. For example, I received through the mail an announcement of a program by an itinerating missionary who was reporting on "our work among the devil worshippers of Mindanao." Not having attended the program I do not know the groups about which he talked, but having conducted research on Mindanao, I am confident that he was working with non-Protestant Filipinos who are hardly "devil worshippers".

In my own experience I encountered fellow missionaries with superiority complexes who were openly critical of their host community. They impugned Iban hygiene, residence, organization and intellect. Few if any people, however, are more fastidious than Iban who regularly bathe three times each day. And, while obvious risks of fire and total destruction exist in longhouse domicile, the residential pattern, part of the social organization, has been well-suited for their adaptation. The biting criticism of Iban by Indonesian missionaries as masih bodoh ("still stupid") is self-indicting, for Iban are equal in intelligence to other societies and generally superior in the production of their voluminous folklore.[2]

Missionaries of earlier generations in particular have been the objects of criticism, and generally represented as unfeeling and uncaring about the people with whom they worked. Rather, they have been portrayed as purveyors of Euro-American cultures, intent on civilizing and educating non-western peoples in the ways of the west. In defense of missionaries of the 19th century and the early 20th century, they were people of their times. If systems theory has utility in cultural anthropology, it is the insight that any institution or group of people is part of its culture and will express selectively some of its society's values. Thus, while we 20th century anthropologists distinguish between ourselves and the 19th century pioneers of our profession, all too often there is a lack of distinction between current and earlier missionaries. But 20th century missionaries are no more to be lumped with 19th century missionaries than 20th century anthropologists are to be lumped with 19th century anthropologists. The church and missionaries of the 19th century were strongly influenced by the technological advances of the Industrial Revolution. Missionaries and anthropologists alike were influenced by Darwinism and Spencerianism, particularly the notion of "the White Man's burden," which provided the rationale for the age of imperialism, exploitation of natural resources, the inauguration and acceleration of the modern missionary movement and, the "ranking" of societies by 19th century anthropologists.

C. Missionaries violate--or tolerate the violation--of the rights of the people with whom they work.

It is charged that missionaries, in their zealous propagation of the gospel, knowingly or unwittingly, destroy the societies and cultures with which they work. They believe it possible, so their critics allege, to deal with one level of a society, for example, the ideological or the technological, without affecting other levels.

But change at any point of a system begets changes in other parts of the system. The introduction of highyielding plants has sent shock-waves of varying sensitivity through the organization and culture of a society. Such cultigens may lead to changes in the division of labor, economic exchanges, attitudes towards property, laws about real and movable property, polity, education, socialization, values, folklore--in short, every dimension of the society.

In the "social programs" of missions, the best intentions of missionaries have subverted local institutions. The establishment of schools has introduced new processes of education, new media of instruction, the agents for dissemination of values, new role models, and inevitably led to the abandonment of traditional patterns of education. Few efforts of missionaries, including evangelism, have had more far-reaching effects than education. While considerable attention has been given to "appropriate technology", very little has been given to appropriate education. I vividly recall a conversation with a young Iban who was considering going to Australia for university studies. When I asked his plans, he confessed that he honestly did not know what he would. "But," he continued, "I do know one thing for certain and sure. I won't go back to the longhouse. When I have gone on holiday, the young girls have taunted me because I don't know how to chop wood or do many of the tasks other young men do. I'll never go back there to live."

As important as germ-theory and other developments of western medicine are, the introduction of Euro-American medical practices has depreciated or destroyed ethnomedical knowledge accumulated and refined over centuries, often replacing an holistic medicine with a fragmented, "sick" system.

In contrast to the charges of aggressive intervention by missionaries in local societies, are allegations of the passivity they have shown when the same societies have been exploited or misadministered by local governments or military regimes. Concerned lest they be accused of meddling in local politics and be expelled, missionaries are accused of having acquiesced to, if they have not actually countenanced victimization of native societies by ruthless officials.

Whatever the affiliation or denomination, missionaries have taken a variety of positions in their work and relations with local societies. Some have been so self-assured that they have abridged or abused the rights of their hosts. But many others have been fully as sensitive as Codrington in his ringing indictment of and poignant plea to his fellow missionaries:

> . . . Often missionaries, it is feared, so manage it that they nor the first generation of their converts really know what the old religion of the native people was. There is always with missionaries the difficulty of language . . . Besides, everyone, missionary and visitor, carries with him some preconceived ideas; he expects to see idols, and he sees them; images are labelled idols in museums whose makers carved them for amusement . . . It is extremely difficult for anyone to begin enquiries without some prepossessions which, even if he can communicate with the native in their own language, affect his conception of the meaning of the answers he receives (1891:117-118).

The notion that local societies are put upon by missionaries who do as they please is not entirely true to the facts. Missionaries, in most instances, could not stay if they were not accepted or wanted by their hosts. The insight of Marcel Mauss, that society exists through and in order to effect exchanges, is no less true in the missionary-native relationship. And this is not a case of "negative reciprocity". Rather, missionaries are--and I believe were--tolerated because of some perceived advantage to their host community. If there was no such advantage, or the missionaries posed a threat, they may have asked to leave, as I can attest from the following incident.

On a warm Sunday afternoon in 1958, still the colonial period and the time of "white prestige", we were sitting on a longhouse verandah at Batu Burak on Sarawak's Igan River, discussing similarities and differences between Iban religion and Christian faith. Suddenly, an Iban screamed, jumped up and grabbed his backside from which he removed an enormous spider which had bitten him. Scurrying around, his friends dragged out a galvanized tub into which they poured gasoline and into which they immersed the afflicted part. Then, turning to us they exclaimed, "Out, that's it. No more conversation." Not fluent in Iban at the time, I asked my travelling companion, Burr Baughman, what was going on. He explained that the residents took the incident as a sign from the spirits that they were to have nothing to do with Christianity, and so asked us to leave. And we did.[3]

Beyond their being accepted or tolerated, missionaries may serve as "buffers" in the processes of social change, as "brokers" of new strategies, and even as advocates of the rights of their hosts. Begging the reader's indulgence of another personal experience: I was awakened from an early afternoon nap by the throat-clearing announcement of my guest's arrival. He was a long-time Iban friend, a man of integrity and political skills, who had worked hard to become penghulu, "regional chief". "Brother," he began, "I have a problem and I need your help." He proceeded to tell me that the District Officer had polled the headmen of all the longhouses in his region, and that they had voted unanimously to elect him penghulu. But a rival had offered the District Officer a bribe to send his name forward, and the District Officer had agreed. We decided that a strongly worded letter, affirming that he knew how his fellow headmen had voted and that he would report the District Officer to the Governor if he proceeded with his scheme to nominate the rival, was the best strategy. We composed the letter, I typed it, and the soon-to-be penghulu delivered it. The District Officer was furious, for he knew that the man was illiterate. But, try as he might, he could not discover who his aide was.

The forms and rates of change vary, and their effects may be constructive or destructive. The influences of Euro-American societies in the Third World are pervasive, extending to the most remote regions, and apparently irresistible. (I once saw the most astounding collection of center-folds in a house near the middle of the Durin Swamp in Borneo. Where they came from, or more correctly, how they got there, I still find puzzling.) Granting the premise that change in less developed societies is inevitable--for either they will accept change or it likely will be forced upon them by often well-intentioned administrators or other agents--there are numerous situations in which missionaries have served as interpreters of external phenomena and practices, thus easing and facilitating the impact of change on the local community.

In sum, history is replete with examples of missionaries who have violated the ways and rights of the people with whom they worked, but there also have been situations in which missionaries have served as protectors of native populations against their peers, compatriots, and even the missionaries' own agencies.

D. Missionaries present a united front against divided (read, "defenseless") natives.

The central problem of anthropology is the explanation of human variation, which we account for in both biological and cultural studies. Curiously, this problem is ignored and abandoned by anthropologists when they portray missionaries as practicing one culture and behaving in similar ways. The following selection from a well-written thesis fairly represents the attitude of some anthropologists:

> The widespread dislike of missionaries by anthropologists may be the result of the universality of missionary culture (more specifically, missionary behavior) . . . (For) while it can be seen that missionary behavior is universal, the indigenous cultures with which missionaries work are not. Therefore, each culture responds differently to missionization (Appell 1983:93, 95).

As a former missionary, I can attest that within our society neither culture nor behavior was universal. Values and expectations varied enormously in our church, as did ways of behaving. At the peak period of work in Sarawak, we had 80 missionaries from 11 countries with creative tensions and enervating stresses. Theological positions ranged from the very conservative Batak, third-generation Christians with a strong Lutheran tradition, to quite liberal short-term young Americans. Even the more liberal Americans were shocked at the German Methodists who drank beer and the British Methodists who smoked, and Germans and British were scandalized by the Americans whose women wore lipstick and whose men had every latest gadget for photography and stereos.

Just as we were not of one culture nor were our ways of behaving "universal" (and I must confess that I am unclear what is meant by either phrase), much less so was there universality of even consistency between our church and other groups of missionaries. Interpretation of scripture varied, as did strategies for sharing beliefs. Some understood the Bible literally, others, more liberally. Church policies on support were as different as the almost complete subsidy of all activities by Methodists to the immediately self-supporting congregations of the Sidang Indjil Borneo.

Although ideally there should be an overriding purpose of mission for all missionaries, definition of that purpose and its implementation vary enormously. As I have described elsewhere (Sutlive 1983), my wife and I arrived in Sarawak in 1957 in the midst of a first-rate feud between leaders of our missionary society. During our first term, and prior to Vatican II, there was intense--and, I believe, non-Christian--competition between Catholics and Protestants. No sooner had we established a congregation on the Sarikei River than a priest was working the same area. "Why the sound of your motor had scarcely died," commented one Iban wryly, "before we heard the sound of the father's." When we were invited to the Durin River, previously a Catholic stronghold, we responded with energy and enthusiasm.

It is no over-reactive, defensive exaggeration to insist that variation within and between church groups was (is?) as great as one might find in any similar group of professionals. Thus, the stereotyping of missionaries as practicing one culture and behaving all alike is no more true to the facts than would be a statement that all anthropologists share the same values and act alike. Anyone remotely familiar with the history of anthropology knows that our is a discipline peopled with individuals of strong wills and widely divergent temperaments.

And, as I understand our discipline, we are committed to the study of human variation wherever it occurs--even among missionaries.

E. Missionaries have confused native populations by exporting their denominational differences.

Regardless of the level of analysis, this charge is patently contradictory of the last, viz., that missionaries participate in a united front.

Despite its contradiction of the previous charge, however, the allegation that missionaries have exported their denominational differences is one to which we must plead, "Guilty as charged!" For not only have we at times dealt in inhuman and unchristian ways with other religions; we also have refused fellowship with members of our own faith.

In 1961 I received a letter from the late Nels F. S. Ferre who was Visiting Professor of Theology in Davao City, Republic of the Philippines. Ferre had been my professor of theology at Vanderbilt University, and I invited him to visit us in Sarawak to give a series of lectures on ecumenism. When ~~he~~ accepted, I sent invitations to the heads of all churches and missions to participate in a three-day seminar. Replies ranged from the wary to the effusive, and all but one of the leaders accepted. That one, a bishop, regretted that his schedule would not permit him to attend. With determination, and a little mischief, I wrote back that we should miss him but I was certain he would be delighted to know that his counterpart from a neighboring state would attend and had written, in effect, "This is the best thing to happen to the church in northern Borneo; I'll be there with bells on." Back came a letter by return mail, informing me that the bishop's schedule had opened up, and that he now found it possible to attend. (Ferre's literary style is indescribably complex and convoluted, and his speaking, at times, equally so, prompting one Iban to comment after the seminar, "Never spake man like this." Understandably, his lectures tied the Iban and Chinese translators into verbal knots as they tried to render his profundities intelligible to leaders, ministers and priests, and students.

F. Missionaries preach a gospel of westernization.

In his review of the mission enterprise in Africa, Beidelman writes that

> the effort to strip an indigenous culture of its identity and replace it with Western ideals and practices are often missionary concerns--conscious and unconscious (1982:14).

As anthropologists we are aware that each person becomes "human" (or nearly so) within a particular socio-cultural milieu. That is, we do not become "human" in some grand universal setting, thus emerging as trans-cultural neutrals. Like it or not, we take our genetic legacy and our cultural packaging with us wherever we go.

On the basis of our limited experience in Sarawak, the challenge to the missionary is not the propagation of a gospel of westernization; rather, it is the futile and unsuccessful attempt to transcend one's techno-political wrappings and to work out with one's hosts what it means to be human (and Christian) in the local society. Further, the challenge to the missionary is the encouragement of the maintenance and defense of indigenous values which are humanizing, that is, realize the potential of the individual within his society, and the discouragement of the abandonment of indigenous values for anything western.

Two examples: In 1960, the late Penghulu Giman urged me to visit Rumah Balong and Rumah Kuin, two longhouses in upriver Sarikei. The latter was a full day's travel from our home in Sibu. We made the trip and, after a bath in the river and a generous dinner, sat on the longhouse verandah for the serious business of conversation. After the usual pro forma pleasantries about the trip, the weather, and farming, Giman introduced me by saying, among other things, Tuan tu petara ("The 'man' here is a god"). I demurred and insisted that he exaggerated, but such was the esteem in which Americans and Europeans were held that it was difficult to maintain perspective and retain one's common humanity. (Political events of the past two decades, however, have brought about "the twilight of the gods" and Euro-Americans are no longer held in such regard.)

During the 11 years our family lived in Borneo, I stayed in well over 100 different longhouses. In each, without exception, the evening conversation wandered to include the technological wonders of the west: television, space travel (and its suspected effects on weather and farming), and, I am confident now, computers. I realized my provincialism when I was in Sarawak in 1979 and was surprised to see colored television sets with rediffusion programming of American and British sitcoms and other series. My confidence about the inclusion computers in the longhouse conversations is based upon the availability of microcomputers in Sibu, and the transfer of data from over 2,000 forms onto one disk at the conclusion of my research in August 1984.

Any contact between members of different societies, particularly as different as east and west, is an occasion for exchange and, by accident or design, change. If missionaries have served as brokers and agents for change, anthropologists occasionally have deluded themselves that their roles as participant-observers are "contamination-free".[4]

Further, anthropologists, with the noblest of intentions, have done just as colonial administrators did, also with the noblest of intentions. Some members of each profession "stereotyped" their subject societies, discouraging changes which the indigenes have sought. Thus, for example, in Sarawak, Iban were discouraged from moving to the port towns or administrative centers, and from sending their children to school, lest their culture be eroded by exposure to urban centers or western-style education. The result, as expressed by Iban, has been a serious lag from which, by their own estimation, they may never recover and "catch up" with Chinese and Malays.

G. "Missionaries have a skewed view of religion: Christianity is right, other religions are wrong" (Appell 1983:1).

While this criticism may be applicable to some missionaries and their societies, it is an over-generalization which is as uninformed about missionaries' attitudes towards other religions as, unfortunately, some missionaries are about other religions. I shall look at the question of Christian particularism later, suffice it to note here that regrettably some missionaries are unaware of the distinctions between theology and religion. Theology is the way persons interpret their faith, a statement of the highest and best concepts of their tradition. Religion is a systemic analysis and representation of the key symbols and ritual responses of a tradition. Theology is inexorably, incorrigibly, inescapably, unabashedly apologetic. It is the view from within a faith. Theology can never be comparative, precise because it is a collection of the highest statements and deepest insights of a tradition. The establishment of religion as a field of comparative study in the 19th century was a major intellectual breakthrough, for only religion--not theology--can be comparative. And while we of different theological traditions may engage in theological discussions, there is an existential dimension, a subjective quality to theology, which precludes comparability.

My point in the preceding is that some missionaries have compared the best of their traditions against less than the best, sometimes, the worst, of others. So that in the history of the church and the practice of mission, there has been a confusion of these discrete categories of theology and religion. Unfairly some missionaries have misrepresented the similarities and differences between our faith and others, by exaggerating the best features of Christianity while portraying others in the worst possible light. In doing so, we betray our ignorance and belie the spirit of the tradition we purport to represent. For the highest and best of the Christian faith is agape, which seeks the highest and best in all. We do not build our case by tearing others down. To do so is to limit, no, to reject the revelation of God who, in the words of

St. Paul, "has at no time and in no place left Himself without witness" (Acts 14:17).

III. Backgrounds of Anthropologists and Missionaries

To understand the relations of anthropologists and missionaries, it is imperative that we identify the dominant principle which has framed each and the ways this principle has been explicated in each profession. The roots of each discipline are deep, and the principles and subsequent anastomoses derive from the intellectual inception. Each dominant principle provides a radically different perspective on the world.

For anthropology the major principle is monism--"what you see is what you have." For missiology (the study of missions) the major principle is dualism--"there's more to it than meets the eye." And these two principles, set in a dialectic by Greeks such as Pythagoras, proponent of the former, and Plato, advocate of the latter, have dominated the intellectual history of the west.

Beyond the major principle of monism, anthropology has developed by the principles of relativism, holism, and pluralism: Appreciation for the relative history and situation of each society, studied as possibility, as one among many. Missiology has developed by the principles of particularism, holism, and universalism: Appreciation for the apprehension of the potential of the human species as seen in one human being, and the implications this has for all humankind.

A. Anthropology: Origins and Historical Development

Greek and Roman scholars between the 7th century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. established the major issues of western intellectual thought about the human condition:

> (1) What is the relation of the social and cultural to human nature? (2) What is the character of causality, i.e., what are the antecedent, intervening, and consequent variables? (This question has given rise

> to all sorts of "three-layered cake" models, e.g., savagery-barbarism-civilization; magic-religion-science; etc.) (3) What is the relation of form to meaning? In body types, ectomorphs versus endomorphs? In ethnic groups, physical characteristics and intellectual capabilities? In social patterns, institutions and cultures? (4) What is the relation of the individual to the group? How do persons become members of groups? (5) What is the nature of change? (This question engaged Heraclitus and Parmenides in debate, and led to the formulation of the structural-functional model and the conclusion that change is disruptive, disequilibrating and, hence, "abnormal". (For source and discussion of these questions see Voget 1975.)

The intellectual issues were expressions of questions which emerged from the writings of early Greek "ethnographers", foremost of whom was Herodotus, and Roman "historians", most notably Tacitus. All described societies other than their own, noting differences and similarities--"cross-cultural comparisons"--between Greek society and Persians, Egyptians, and Nubians, between Romans and northern Europeans. Thus, they recognized human societies as proper subjects for study.

This recognition was largely muted during the apocalyptic and early Christian periods. Although as Honigmann (1976) and Voget (1975) note, there were contributions from early churchmen to the study of society, generally there was a decline in interest and intellectual commitment to such study.

The Judaeo-Christian worldview was clearly conceptualized and firmly set by the time of the Renaissance and the Age of Discovery. But both periods produced challenges to European "ethno-history" and were instrumental in the formulation of theories during the formative period of the social sciences (ca. 1725-1840) and theological positions which were to set in motion the missionary movement of the 1800s. "Change" became the key symbol and driving force to impel inventors and drive explorers. Newly discovered people of the New World, Africa, and Asia required a reinterpretation of the biblically-based anthropology and worldview so that, for example, by 1515, American Indians already had been identified as "the lost tribes of Israel." The cumulative effect of culture was dramatically demonstrated by the growing evidence of the as-yet-to-be established fields of geology, paleontology, and philology which provided a steadily broadening base for 18th century revolutionaries and 19th century evolutionists.

If the 18th century was irreversibly revolutionary, with naive notions about human perfectability and realistic concepts of human responsibility, the 19th century was inexorably evolutionary. Efforts to fit new information into old models proved unsuccessful and, consistent with Kuhn's (1962) analysis of scientific revolutions, breakthrough occurred in every intellectual discipline. So strong were the data in the biological sciences that academic societies, committed to the discovery of the physical and intellectual history of humankind, were established in Europe and America. Excesses in their inquiries led to the so-called "crime of the century" and the confusion of form and quality (see the third major issue under "Anthropology" above), of "race" and "intelligence". Politicization of race provided reason for the imposition of colonial rule and the extension of Christian mission to the ends of the earth. The "burden" was commonly borne by scholar, colonialist, and missionary alike.

Long critical of the artifices and sophistries of "the Church", social scientists in the second-half of the 19th century identified a universal "burden", viz. religion. For a variety of reasons--part idiosyncratic (cf. Evans-Pritchard 1965), part professional--pioneers in ethnology and anthropology rejected the institution of religion. For example, Comte's positivism, a 19th century form of monism, influenced Durkheim and his intellectual heirs to reduce religion to systems of observable and opposed facts. Tylor and Frazer had become disaffected with their own religious traditions for family and personal reasons, and Freud concluded that religion was "an illusion" from which individuals--and societies--would be freed as they matured.

Beyond a disciplinary commitment to positivism in the pursuit of scientific accreditation, two other developments of the 19th century are important to note if we are to understand the current antipathy between anthropologists and missionaries. The first was an attempt to assume a "value-free" posture following the lead of Max Weber. Opposed to Marx' appropriation of Morgan's anthropology and efforts to employ social science to revolutionary ends, Weber ironically drove a wedge between the disciplines of sociology and anthropology and the study of values for almost half-a-century. It was only in the middle of this century that Kluckhohn (1951), in his seminal essay, restored the subject of values as an appropriate one for social science research. (I recall as recently as 1966 a series of lectures held at the University of Pittsburgh on "non-biased, value-free research," the conclusion of the series being that though ideal, such research was entirely unrealistic.) The general effect of Weber's influence and the effort to develop anthropology as a science was to lead many anthropologists (if not anthropology) to a position of non-involvement in real issues. That the effect was not complete is well documented in Walter Goldschmidt's 1976 Presidential Address at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in which he notes the involvement of anthropologists in "real issues", yet the crisis our discipline faces because of inappropriate use of ethnographic information and anthropological theory.

Equally important was the articulation one of the three principles of anthropology noted earlier: cultural relativism. Insisting that a society can be understood only in terms of its adaptation, accommodations, and history, and, in the peak period of culture-and-personality studies, that "the normal and the abnormal" are relative to one's society, cultural relativists offered the non-answer that people are the way that they are because they are the way they are. And, whatever their behavior, they must be accepted, even appreciated, as they are. The illogic of extreme cultural relativism has been challenged by Bagish (1983) in his essay, "The Confessions of a Former Cultural Relativist." Bagish writes that just as civil beings condemned the practice of genocide by the Nazis, so, too, civil beings must reject the physical abuses, psychological damage, and other dehumanizing practices inflicted on human beings in any society.

With the proliferation of specializations and the entrance of anthropologists into almost every occupational category, we have disseminated our principles and practices more widely than we think, though perhaps not as widely as might like. Whatever Margaret Mead saw or did not see in Samoa (Mead 1928; Freeman 1983), interpretations of her work have profoundly changed attitudes towards human sexuality and socialization of the young. Wherever Edward Hall did or did not stay in Japan (1976), influences of his writing have sensitized a significant segment of our society to the systemic character of verbal and non-verbal communication. And however Jules Henry may have critiqued social studies as educational rituals to ensure conformity (1963), three generations of American youth have been moved all too uncritically as "age-grades" through our schools.

Of concern to us here are influences anthropology has had upon missionaries. And they are numerous. From course-work in cultural anthropology and methods of fieldwork to publications such as Practical Anthropology, no missionary organization and no single missionary is uninfluenced by anthropology.

Before we examine in more detail similarities, differences, and accommodations between the two groups, let us trace the historical development of the missionary movement.

B. Missiology

The worldview from which most missionaries have proceeded has been built from analyses of the human condition in scripture. As with anthropology, these analyses were undertaken in response to issues which occurred between the 8th century B.C. and the 1st century A.D.

> (1) What is the relation of the social and the cultural to divine nature? What is the nature of causality, in particular, to what

> extent does the divine influence the affairs of human beings? (3) What is the relation of form to meaning? The Formless and Immaterial to life? (4) What is the relation of the individual to the group? What are the responsibilities human beings have for one another? Within one's own society? To members of different societies? (5) What is the nature of change? Ironically, Jewish thinkers concluded that change is normal in contrast to the Greek philosophers who concluded that it is abnormal, based upon events in their history that legitimized Jewish teleology.

Two radical facts are essential to an understanding of this worldview: First, there is never a question about the existence of God. Aristotle's prime mover is the Jews' primary fact. Second, the biblical account treats its human subjects candidly, describing the entire spectrum of human behavior. It glosses over nothing, and includes episodes of abuse, murder, rape, sodomy, onanism, adultery, and genocide, as well as incidents of sensitive and compassionate behavior. Human beings are of secondary importance to God who is all and through all and in all.

The chronological and instrumental primacy of God is declared in "The Hymn of Creation" (Genesis 1:1-2:4a), and in the much earlier account of Genesis 2:4b-25. "In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth . . . light . . . sun and moon . . . plants bearing seed . . . fish of the sea . . . birds of the air . . . animals that walk upon the earth . . . man . . . male and female."

In its examination of the human condition, the Bible asserts the fundamental egocentricity of each person, the sociocentricity of each group. The story of Adam and Eve is portrayed as the story of every person--self-centered, disaffected, ambivalent, alienated, accusatory, defensive --early episodes of what Christopher Lasch (1979) has called "the culture of narcissism." Knowing themselves guilty before they are sought out by God, humans attempt to solve their own problems through their own creative acts, viz. covering their "privacies" with leaves. But human solutions prove flimsy, unsubstantial, and inadequate, so as the first humans leave Eden--the ideal state--they are covered with the skins of sacrificial animals representing the continuing, ceaseless love of God.

As societies emerge they contend for resources and struggle for supremacy of their different life-styles. The sibling-rivalry of "brothers", Cain and Abel, is actually the clash of pastoralists and farmers. Cain, the first murderer, is a marked man and builds the first city, a telling commentary of the author's view of urbanization.

Convinced that the fabric of society has been rent by distrust, God floods the world saving Noah and his family to re-establish humanity. Scarcely are the refugees out of the ark before Noah gets drunk in his first encounter with wine. Enraged that his "privacy" is observed, he curses Canaan--note, not Ham, as racists mistakenly have read this account--a curse which seems almost perennially prophetic about that troubled area of the world.

Biblical anthropology identifies the three sons of Noah as the apical ancestors of the three races of humanity: Shem, of the people of the middle east, Ham, of the people of Africa, and Japheth of the people to the north. Given a new start, the people move onto the plain of Shinar (lit., "sin") where they built a self-aggrandizing tower "to make a name" for themselves, whereupon God diversifies the languages and cultures of these uppity folk into discrete societies.

A new state of affairs is achieved with the call of Abraham and the promise that "all nations" will be blessed through him. Here is a universalism and call to mission which underlies the history of Israel and the church.

For the people of Israel, the most important event occurred in the Exodus. Victims of social differentiation and enslaved by the most powerful state of the time, a "rabble" group who had no autonym, no sense of identity, no organization, participated in the first liberation movement. Called to mission, Moses declared God to be compassionate and concerned for the abused, demeaned "outsiders" (habiru, "Hebrews"). "I am coming down" (note the sense of direction), God said, "I will bring the people out, and I will give them land." (From beginning to end, the Pentateuch is an account of and rationale for the invasion and seizure of "the land". Deja vu! Whether one accepts the more traditional interpretations of the invasion of Canaan, or Gottwald's more recent sociological interpretation (1979), the issues are essentially the same.) Separation of church and state is as old as the church. From its inception Israel was to be separate, apart, "sacred", in mission, unlike the nations. In contrast to the self-authenticating, self-seeking activities of the state, Israel was to be "a servant of love," "a light to the nations," as the church was to be "salt", "light", consistently self-giving. The message of Yahweh was, "You are not to live to yourself, nor only for yourselves. Life is fulfilled in exchanges, in openness, in freedom, justice and respect for all people."

But they had not celebrated their bicentennial before Israel re-established the very conditions from which they had been released. "Give us a state," the leaders urged Samuel, "so we may be like the other nations." Peer pressures aborted the mission, socio-logical distractions diluted higher values, and Israel became a nation, and ceased to be the church. In consequence, her history repeated the patterns of differentiation under which she had fallen victim to Egypt. Solomon built the temples of Jerusalem with corvee labor, entered into political alliances with the surrounding nations, exacted taxes to support an exploitative and elitist lifestyle in his court. And his oppressive regime, followed by the insensitive repudiation by his son Rehoboam of appeals for economic and political reform, led to the division of the kingdom in the middle of the 10th century B.C. Israel, the northern kingdom, was destroyed in 721 B.C., her people subjected to an assimilative Assyrian policy by forced miscegenation producing the Samaritans, and Judah, the southern kingdom, was undone by her own political games and destroyed with the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. Israel had fallen victim to the all-too-familiar processes of differentiation, bureaucratization, and involution. She had turned in upon herself, forgetting her common humanity with other people, and more tragically she had aborted the purpose for which she had been conceived.

Subsequently, the remnant people were to be ruled and released by Persians, only to be conquered in turn by Greeks and Romans. Her darkest hours were under the Seleucid ruler Antiochus Epiphanes who attempted cultural genocide, sparked the Maccabean rebellion, and ignited a rededication of "the people" in the celebration of Hanukkah.

This historical background was prelude to the dramatic events which were to divide history and, for the missionary, humankind, by the life, ministry, teachings, death and resurrection, of Jesus. Regardless of one's theological position, affirmation or denial of religious beliefs, these events have influenced all subsequent history. For our purposes here, they were the basis and justification of the missionary activity of the church.

The events combine particularism and universalism, the declaration that in Jesus God acted on behalf of all people. Predictably, the universal benefits contained in such statements as, "God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself," and, "God has at no time and in no place left himself without witness," were usurped by the provincialism and ethnocentrism of Christians and Jews alike. In contrast to the message of reconciliation, Jewish and Greek Christians squabbled about allocation of commonly shared resources (Acts 8), and the notion of a universally active God was countered by a Jewish-Christian parochialism expressed most clearly in the story of the canonization of Jewish scriptures.

As those who knew the historical Jesus died and concern developed about maintaining his memory and a reliable record of his teachings, Paul, Mark, Matthew, Luke, John, and other authors produced early Christian writings. Concerned by the appearance of the Christian sect and the challenges of Christian writings, the Jews met in the city of Jamnia in 90 A.D. to establish a faithful record of the acts of God in their nation's history. Most critically for them and for us, they codified the notion that God had revealed himself for only a limited time and only in a narrowly circumscribed area. Revelation began with Moses, they agreed, when God revealed himself for the first time as Yahweh (Exodus 6:2-3); it concluded with Ezra who, according to the apocryphal account in II Esdras 14, dictated all the scriptures. The crucial feature of this was the insistence that God had revealed himself only to Israel and only in Israel. By such closure, the demonstration of self-giving love in Jesus was, as Paul wrote, "sheer folly to the Jews" and, because of their theology, "scandalous to the Greeks" (I Corinthians 1:23).

It was this scandalous folly which impelled the church into mission.

For the story of the New Testament, to Christians, is not a new teaching. Precedent may be found for everything Jesus taught. It is not a new philosophy, nor yet a new schedule of rituals. Rather, it is the story of a new quality of life, "humanity come of age," as Paul wrote. It is a quality of life best summarized in the uniquely New Testament word, agape, sometimes trivialized by its very popularity, but divine in being a love which is so secure in the lover that its very essence is to love and give.

It is this quality of life which prompted Iranaeus to write, "Adam was the first potential man; Jesus was the first actual man." And this is the anthropology of the New Testament, and should be the canon and principle of the Christian missionary. Agape connotes a projection of the ideal which is never realized in the human life. In the human life which identifies with or aspires to agape, there is always a dynamic, creative tension. But, consistent with agape, each person, believer and unbeliever, of one's own society, or another nation, is accepted "as is." This acceptance and affirmation of all others, combining relativism and universalism, is dramatically presented in the tag chapter of John 21, in which Jesus twice asks Peter, "Do you love me with agape?" Twice, Peter replies, "Lord, you know I love you as a brother" (philo se, but not with agape). The third time Jesus asks Peter if he indeed loves him as a brother, accepting Peter and the limitations of his affections, and getting at the pan-human problem of "brotherhood".

Jesus was crucified as a revolutionary figure, "the king of the Jews," but the really revolutionary dimension in his life lay not in low-level politics; rather, it was in his breaching the barriers between God and man, between members of different societies. He accepted the Samaritan woman, and declared to the Roman officer, "I haven't found faith like yours even in Israel." He insisted that God reveals himself to all people through social and natural processes.

So, in the very same century that scholars at Jamnia were locking in the revelation and activities of God, Paul was insisting to Greeks in Athens that God was the knowable one, though they called him the "Unknown". And with that belief the apostles were off to India, Egypt, and Rome itself.

But the church, early and more recently, has been inclined towards the same involutionary tendencies Israel showed. Though called into existence mission, all too often churchmen have said in effect, "Let somebody else do it." Contrary to what critics believe, missionary activity has been the exception rather than the rule in the history of the church. As Walter Russell Bowie writes in The Story of the Church:

> Why should not the gospel that told of Jesus and of the love of God in him be carried to those who had never heard of it? . . . That was what some greathearted men in other centuries had asked, and they went out themselves to be the answer. Patrick had gone to Ireland, Columba to Scotland, and Boniface to Germany. . . When the Roman Catholic Church woke to new life after the Reformation, Jesuit priests had gone out heroically to India, Japan, and China, and among . . . Indian tribes of the new world (1955:176).

And for those who "had ears to hear and eyes to see," they discovered what Jesus and Paul had taught, and what Wesley called "prevenient grace": before they went, God was (at work) in those societies, that the good news is relative to human need and situational, to be worked out in human lives.

The modern missionary movement, beginning with William Carey, was impelled by a variety of forces, Christian concern for human need being the foremost. And it has been in the sincere efforts to meet the diverse needs that there has occurred the cross-fertilization of missiology and anthropology. We now shall examine some of the similarities, differences, and exchanges between anthropologists and missionaries.

IV. Similarities, Differences, and Exchanges

There are striking similarities between anthropologists and missionaries, but within these there are also fundamental and probably unresolvable, irremedial differences.

A. Both are interested in and concerned about the human condition.

1. The major theoretical problem of anthropology is human variation, and anthropologists have studied effects major types of adaptation have had on individual personalities and patterns of social organization. Some types have enhanced the quality of life, while others have impoverished human beings. Applied anthropology is a response to human problems, and an attempt to bring the knowledge of our discipline to solutions. Anthropologists working in programs of development have been quite accurately described as "secular missionaries."

2. While missionaries have been caricatured as primarily concerned for "saving souls", most are much more broadly concerned about the whole spectrum of human problems. In our experiences we had colleagues who worked in programs of agriculture, health and hygiene, nutrition, childcare, and medicine. There are few if in fact any forms of need to which missionaries have not responded.

B. Both are people of "principles," and proceed with implicit and explicit values, beliefs, and agendas.

1. Anthropologists' personal values may not be articulated but they are expressed in their work: Other people count. The method of participant-observation

requires the anthropologist to take an emic approach which unavoidably results in one's identification with and sympathy for "my people". Whether the fieldwork is in New York among converts to a new sect, or in California with prostitutes, or in Uganda with the Ik, there is an underlying principle and set of values which is essentially humanistic if not outright humanitarian.

2. Missionaries' values are more clearly articulated because it is normal for missionaries to express, explain, and defend them. For missionaries as for anthropologists, a fundamental principle should be that "other people count." The story of scripture is of an anthropocentric God, one who enters history on behalf of the rabble in Egypt, the poor, orphans, and widows everywhere. But I must confess that I have observed incidents in which missionaries were so committed to "the work" that they had little time for "the people". What is one's work other than one's people? Missionaries may take a useful reminder from anthropologists.

C. Both have broad bases of interests, if not really universal concerns.

1. The education of an anthropologist includes study of a "world ethnographic sample" (or it should!). It is only through such a study that the breadth of human variation can be comprehended. One of the cardinal values of the field experience outside one's own society and country is culture shock, that sensitizing process by which one learns that there are alternate ways of living and interpreting human experiences. Most anthropologists, because of a number of constraints, usually live in and study extensively one other society, or, at most two or three different societies. Despite limitations of personal experience, anthropologists have in common with missionaries extended living among people of another society and culture.

2. Missionaries usually live for even longer periods outside their own society and with other people. They share with anthropologists a much broader perspective on the world and human conditions than is common to persons who have not lived for extended periods apart from their

own society. Although living abroad is common to both groups, one caution must be noted in generalizing to missionaries. In some situations, missionaries live--or have lived--apart from the people with whom they are working. The "missionary compound", similar to the insular existence of expatriates working with governments or businesses, permitted the missionary to make his sorties into the foreign community, but return to the comfort and privacy of his home away from home. I have observed missionaries who were quite content to work within the institutions of the church, yet quite reluctant to travel, much less live, among the "natives". As judgmental as I may be, I feel that such colleagues missed much in understanding the people with whom we worked.

D. Both are agents of change.

1. Anthropologists' involvement as participant - observers influence the subjects of their studies, despite every effort to minimize the introduction of their society's behavior or values. Their very presence connotes differences and requires adjustments on the part of their hosts. In most field situations, anthropologists look different, smell different, sit and stand and walk differently, eat differently--in short, are unmistakably different. And their presence becomes part of the ethnohistory of the society, a series of events to which their hosts must accommodate and attempt to make sense.

2. Missionaries are committed to changing the societies in which they work, but their policies and strategies vary enormously. Most missionaries agree with the thesis of anthropologists such as Jules Henry (1963) that while social and cultural systems provide guides to behavior, inevitably such guides are inhibitory. Put another way, individuals and groups experience conflicts and stress from a variety of sources. There is opportunity for change and growth, improvement of the quality of life, and it is to this end the missionary lives and works. Some use familiar--and probably inappropriate--strategies from their own society, such as evangelistic programs for "mass conversions." Others, such as Albert Schweitzer or Mother Teresa, live and work among the people for whom they care.

E. Both include a wide-range of individuals whose personal beliefs and behavior may conflict even with those of their own profession.

1. Within the discipline of anthropology, there is enormous variation of personal philosophies and behavior. This variation manifested itself in 1966 at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Pittsburgh, over the involvement of the United States in Viet Nam polarized and almost split the Association. The political position of some anthropologists was for immediate and complete withdrawal of U.S. forces, and that of others for continuation of the fight. The statesmanship of the late Margaret Mead averted a division of the organization. To apply or not apply information obtained by anthropologists is still a controversial issue, about which there are probably as many positions as there are parties to the debate. Any notion of unity amongst the colleagues, or for that matter even collegiality, is untrue to the facts.

2. There are similar and often equally deep differences between missionaries. Prior to our departure for mission school, we had a visit from a former friend who was eventually to go abroad as a missionary of another church. Though ostensibly we were of one faith, one hope, and one baptism, we found in our discussion that we were in clear conflict over baptism. Insisting that there is no basis for any form of baptism except immersion, my visitor argued that our use of any other form was a perversion. As he left he said with bitterness, "You can be sure I'll be praying for your failure!" Small wonder that Jesus felt the urgency of praying, "Make them one . . . "

F. Both are students of particularism and universalism.

1. Modern anthropology has been characterized by a shift of emphasis and a redirection of focus from the universal to the particular. Earlier, pioneers had sought universal cultural and social traits. But further research and reflection led scholars to move to regional analyses and, later, to the study of individual societies. Particularism has characterized American anthropology,

and as recently as 1971, the late George Peter Murdock, in his Huxley Lecture, recanted his own efforts at generalizing and the generation of theories. Nonetheless, there have been significant efforts--including Murdock's own--at moving anthropology beyond the study of individual societies to the discovery of universal cultural traits. It is these efforts which contain some of the most exciting anthropological insights into the human condition.

2. Missionaries have assumed universal characteristics about humankind, and have worked to relate their assumptions to particular situations. There is the assumption of sin--however defined--and of common needs: acceptance, affection, support, social interaction, and forgiveness, life-confirming processes represented in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. The challenge to the missionary has been the application of these beliefs about the human state to the real-life situations of those with whom they live and work. Often, there are indigenous concepts which provide bases for communicating Christian beliefs, and just as often, Christian beliefs are unlike indigenous concepts, and virtually incommunicable. The particular may challenge, even invalidate, the assumptions of missionaries about a universal human condition.

G. Both have benefited by the work of the other, and there have been numerous exchanges between them.

1. Anthropologists have learned much from the work of missionary ethnographers. As early as the 18th century, Joseph Lafitau provided a thorough description of the Iroquois, including the classificatory kinship system. There has been a regular, continuous, and very often high quality of ethnographic contributions by missionaries. The data-base of anthropology is richer for the work of Robert Codrington, George Brown, William Ellis, Lorimer Fison, and others from the Pacific; of Henri Junod, Edwin Smith, Diedrich Westermann, Dan Crawford, Harold Turner, and many others from Africa; and the writings of missionaries from all parts of the world.

2. Similarly, missionaries have learned much from anthropology, about the theories of societies and cultures, the principles and methods of the science of humankind. The late Ina Corinne Brown once commented that it was inconceivable to her that anyone could go into another culture, to deal with as sensitive an area of human existence as philosophy and faith, without training in the language of the host community, theology, and anthropology. To paraphrase the author of I John, "How can we pretend to understand God, whom we have not seen, if we do not understand our fellow human beings whom we can see?"

CONCLUSION

The similarities and differences between missionaries are vast, and their contributions to each other enormous. I believe Kenelm Burridge (personal communication) is correct when he says that the love-hate relationship which exists between us is so intense because each recognizes so many of its qualities in the other. We may continue as estranged enemies, but we cannot deny our interests in a common subject, our commonly held concerns, and many commonly shared values. As we implement the principle of relativism in order to understand human beings in distant places, practicing exotic cultures, let us apply the same principle in an attempt to understand the professionals in our closely related fields. Who more than we appreciates the situations of human beings in many settings, and who better should join their efforts to promote appreciation for all people by all people?

ENDNOTES

1. We were to encounter other expressions of hostility towards missionaries, though on balance we were treated very much as other graduate students in the department. Occasionally, however, feelings of resentment came out from instructors as well as fellow students.

2. The Iban have been remarkably creative in development of folklore. In my first encounter with Derek Freeman at Seputin, across the Rejang River from Kapit in October, 1957, he stated that "Iban oral literature exceeds in sheer volume the literature of the Greeks and Romans." At the time, uninformed as I was, I felt his remarks excessive. More familiar with Iban folklore, I now concur. Not only is it extensive; it also is rich and elaborate, laced with subtleties which defy translation.

3. Subsequently, the church was to re-enter the area and establish almost three dozen congregations, but entirely through the efforts of Iban.

4. Illustrative of the impressions anthropologists make upon their host community are the nostalgic recollections of Sut Iban who recall Derek Freeman's fieldwork with them at mid-century. "Never have we eaten like that," commented one.

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PARALLAXIS IN MISSIOLOGY: TO USE OR ABUSE

A.R. TIPPETT

Surely the only reason for asking a 'retired' person for an article on theoretical missiology for a volume with a forward look into the Postcolonial Era must be the hope that any insight will be hindsight rather than foresight. My course has been run through a period of dramatic transition, and if I speak at all it can only be on a basis of experience. Therefore this assignment will be personal (in the first person), exploratory (probing cases from my own missioning and researching) and formulative (in the sense of recapturing half-baked theoretical formulations of my own pilgrimage and struggle to give my missiology a structure).

THE THEORY OF PARALLAXIS

With this in mind, then, I shall attempt to formulate what might be called, a "Theory of Parallaxis", a term taken directly from the Greek, (παραλλαξις : Parallaxis) which refers to an image perceived from some specific angle. I use the term in preference to "bias" to avoid the notion of presupposed prejudice and to allow for the possibility of a positive value of a person's point of viewing.[1]

The Relevance of Hindsight

After twenty years in Fiji as a missionary, which I felt to be as long as I could impose my form of paternalism on the long-suffering Fijians, I attempted to formulate a more relevant missiology than I had been given in my own training. That exercise brought me in touch with Dr. Donald McGavran and the Church Growth Movement and led to an association of many formative years during which my contributions were made from the dimension of anthropology. This partnership opened up new research fields for me in Mexico, Korea, Bali, Ethiopia, the Solomons, Papua New Guinea and on the Navaho reservation. The academic life with McGavran also provided facilities for the interplay of field and library research. We formulated our output into lectures and seminar programs and did considerable writing, multigraphed and distributed, though not all published. We operated as a research institute at first at Eugene, Oregon, and later at Pasadena, California, under the umbrella of the Fuller Theological Seminary.

The integration of field and library research with writing and seminars placed the Church Growth Movement and its missiology, researchwise, in the post-Malinowski anthropology,[2] and gave shape to some ideas of the time that were already challenging traditional missionary theory. Until the 1960s missionary theory was mainly philosophical and absolute, often with disregard to cultural context. It then differentiated the theory from the theology of mission, being radical in the former and conservative in the latter. A hitherto speculative, bodiless theology began to focus on the contexts within which the Gospel had to come into encounter with people in all their cultural diversity. This reinterpretation of "going into all the world" came at the same time as those 'popular' slogans, "The day of mission is dead" and "Missionary, Go Home!" Church Growth, under McGavran's fire, demanded and secured to some extent a hearing for the reformulation of a post-colonial missiology, and the rebirth of mission rather than its demise.[3]

One issue which fell under relentless scrutiny in those days was the recognition and correction of ethnocentricity[4] in missionary vision, policy and communication. Contrary to popular belief that this was forced on the missionaries by secular anthropologists (they were vocal, of course), the truth is that it came first from proto-anthropologists within the missionary ranks themselves - Lorimer Fison, Henri Junod, Edwin W. Smith, et al. - who conceptualized the notion of cross-cultural world view, and showed that there were numerous valid ways of perceiving things and operating within those conceptual constructs.[5]

The Problem of Parallaxis

Our conflicts, our politics, our strategies, our acceptance and rejection of innovation, etc., may all be traced back to our different points of viewing. Our most bitter battles come from two parties standing left and right of some object or system, and seeing themselves as wholly right and the others as wholly wrong. In one way or another we are all either natives or foreigners, Greeks or Barbarians, Jews or Gentiles. We do our thinking in terms of "Us" and "Them", of "Capital" and "Labor", "In-group" and "Out-group." Wherever we stand to make our observations we manifest a parallax error. Within every community, in every cross-cultural exercise, we find this root of ethnocentricity. It turns up in missionary strategy, in mission board/field missionary relations. It upsets our cross-cultural communication of the Gospel itself. Thus I have come to believe that if there is anything at all that I can say from my experience out of the past to those going on in the future it has to bear on this problem of parallaxis. In my personal frustrations it has haunted me. I was denied adequate training at the beginning of my missionary career because of Board parallaxis; and even unto the end with experience behind me it was Board policy that denied me a hearing. The exercise of what natural gifts God had given me was held up by the parallaxis of others, so that now I weep for what I might have done but never did. The problem of parallaxis lies behind the disappointment, the discouragement, the frustration, the despair and often the anger of furlough. This experience is not confined to missionaries. Every kind of would-be reformer knows it. Yet, if he has a point, he should surely have a hearing. There can be no doubt about the reality of this problem of parallaxis.

Awareness of Parallaxis

It also happens that we (my generation) have passed through a long period of educational diversification, of specialization, of critical breaking down in analysis - and no doubt, we have learned a great deal in that process. I myself most certainly have. But we have not been so good at synthesis - at putting together again the things we have broken down. A world of analysts, without synthesists, must be self-destroying. And now, somewhat belatedly there has come a recognition of the importance (indeed the essentiality) of interdisciplinary studies. The most refreshing thing in academia, as I see it, is this awareness that parallaxis need not be competitive, but may indeed have a positive value. It is good to see that there is more than one way of doing things. It is good to profit by looking at that other way. It is good to do things together. In the way of interacting (not merely adding two things together but generating something new by interplay - ideas, research techniques and so forth) - something new is born. Syngenesis is the term I have used for this in my writing. Missiology now incorporates many of these interdisciplinary areas of research - ethnohistory, ethnomusicology, ethnopsychology, ethnolinguistics and ethnotheology, to name a few. So we at last become aware that there can be a positive about our parallaxes.

Although I am writing mainly for the missionary, it is also true for the anthropologist. This interdisciplinary syngenesis has corrected many of the earlier intellectual distortions due to parallaxis. Many early anthropologists were careless in the way they used historical data, and some of the best historians have never been able to make the cultural jump in evaluating their facts. Both have fallen into the trap of monocausality (cf. Tippett 1971:221-226,269). And ethnopsychology, for example, opened up new worlds for exploration by the interaction of men like Linton and Kardiner. The syngenesis brought forth concepts like basic and modal personality which were significant in their day. Even when some new idea did not last it often pointed to a direction which was productive.[6]

For missiologist and missionary, this, as much as any other factor (and there are many others), has revolutionized missiology for the post-colonial era - its theory, its strategy, and its cultural relevance. While the basic concept remains constant as the missionary paradigm - the Great Commission has never been cancelled, the Gospel has not been modified - the context within which it is performed, and the tools with which it is carried out, and the training required for that task, are all quite new, and they demand an awareness of the nature of parallaxes to be confronted in the missionary processes.

Towards a Typology of Parallaxis

Might I suggest the missiologists of the new era could well do what I never did myself - viz., develop a typology of parallaxis. We may be aware of a problem but not appreciate its extent and ramifications, and therefore be slow to correct the shortcomings. It needs to be structured as a field for investigation and incorporated into missionary training programs as a course. In any case, there ought to be a typology of parallaxis if missiology is to be a distinct scientific domain and a field for research and practical application. We ought to "formulate concepts in appropriate terminology" as Durkheim put it, and make them "explicit in symbolic form" to cite White (though I do not go too far with either of those scholars in other matters).[7] Preparing a typology forces one to consider a subject whole and to analyze its parts, its variations, its structures, causes and effects. A typology is a theoretical construct which should be based on field experience, formulated for use, and tested again in the field. I suppose it requires some hindsight to formulate an adequate typology. Therefore I offer something from my own experience at least as a suggestion for consideration. It is for those who come after to determine its validity or otherwise, and to modify it according to need and maybe to restructure its coordinates and subordinates according to their own parallaxis.

Therefore, purely for purpose of initial consideration, and with no claim of completeness, I suggest the following types as worthy of examination. Parallaxis may be (1) cultural, (2) historical, (3) promotional, (4) functional, (5) professional, or (6) personal. This approach is problem-oriented rather than academic. From a brief discussion of these types as I have met them "in the raw" there are two other matters which need to be articulated - the question of the parallax shift, and the matter of the integration of parallaxes - which are the areas where the dynamics of parallaxis interplay apply, or will need to apply if the theory is to have any practical value.

CULTURAL PARALLAXIS

Lorimer Fison, one of the fathers of anthropology in Australia[8] and an effective Wesleyan missionary in Fiji during the last century, had formulated the concept of ethnic world view as an understanding essential for any cross-cultural communication of the Gospel. His term for world view was mind-world. He evaluated a customary world view as "perfectly logical and reasonable" and he discussed the significance of this for cross-cultural data-collecting before a company of scientific data-collectors, making two points for their benefit: 1. the urgent need for the continuous preservation of information and the patience required when collecting it, and 2. the need for "the faculty of seeing in them what is seen by the natives themselves." He reminded his scholarly audience that "We must ever remember that our mind-world is very different from theirs," a point which he went on to illustrate humbly from his own painful learning experience.[9]

Fison was articulating what hundreds of other missionaries have learned the hard way in the field experience. He recognized that both the Fijians coming out of cannibalism and the sophisticated western scientists each had their own parallax error. Fison knew that until he appreciated this point he could never get into the cross-cultural evangelical act effectively or meaningfully. That was his experience a century ago. It was also my own in the 1940s even after I had learned to speak the language reasonably well. The most tragic thing I know in the history of the dynamics of the communication of the Gospel cross-culturally is that generation after generation of dedicated missionaries have to learn again the same lesson of parallaxis before the message they present can be meaningful or meet the felt needs it is offered to satisfy. This failure to communicate effectively was not always the fault of the missionary, but it was usually due to differences of parallaxis.[10]

Many old missionaries speak of this "problem of meaning" in their communication in their journals, but few formulated their ideas into theoretical structures as Fison did. Where they did, their work was more used by anthropologists than by missiologists; but what records we have of the values and perceptions of indigenous people at the contact period have been preserved more often than not by the missionaries who were not unaware of parallaxis even when they had trouble coming to terms with it.[11] Their writing covered "views of life," descriptions of value systems which differed from the West, and linguistic studies touching the problem of dynamic equivalence in translation. The missionaries met all these aspects of parallaxis in their field experiences but were given no training in how to deal with them. Fortunately this shortcoming no longer applies.

It is appropriate in one sense to see this missionary feeling coming to a head in a number of conferences and consultations where the missionary voice was heard more and more until there came the demand for structure. This required the death of colonialism to be realistic, and (at least in "my book") it was the select interdisciplinary and international panel that met in April 1974 at Milligan College to explore the comparatives of indigenous Christianity and Christopaganism in mission (itself a problem in parallaxis) and brought together also a company to discuss the curriculum for the training of missionaries for the post-colonial world, that specified the anthropological requirements and threw back the responsibility onto the mission boards and sending churches to equip their missionaries in this direction.[12]

Together with this gradual recognition of the significance of cultural parallaxis there have been changes in anthropology itself that have assisted the process. The early anthropologists had depended very heavily on missionaries for data collecting,[13] but this had cooled off with the emergence of salvage anthropology[14] and cultural relativism,[15] each of which had its own parallaxis and distorted view of mission. There were shifts within the social sciences themselves - the emergence of applied science[16] and the ethics of responsibility,[17] the recognition that Durkheim's first corollary was a theoretical fiction,[18] the rise of the study of social change as a field for research,[19] the application of ethnohistory to missionary archival material,[20] the redefinition of model and paradigm,[21] the admission that religion is part of culture and cannot be excluded from social analysis, to name only some of them. These parallaxis shifts within anthropology itself all opened the way for dynamic sharing between anthropologists and missionaries at the level of the round table conference, and the printing of useful symposia volumes of abiding value.[22] Truly then, one may say, these are new times and the integration of parallaxes is much more possible than it was in colonial times.

In the missionary camp, on the other hand, I am assuming that the basic paradigm of mission, the nature of evangelism, the phenomenology of religious conversion remain the same.[23] What has changed is the recognition of the right of missionaries to demand training in anthropology, and the responsibility of their boards and churches to provide it, the need to equip themselves for cross-cultural engagement with the tools and guidance that are now available as they were not before. To put it in terms of missionary theology - the capacity for stewardship under God is at stake.[24] Or from the less theological but very practical point of view: instead of taking a decade to learn to handle the cross-cultural situation on the field because of cultural factors beyond my expectation, I know full well that with the correct anthropological training I could have reached that point of effectiveness in a couple of years. Eight years of valuable service were thereby lost, mistakes galore might have been avoided, projects of abiding value might have been exploited in those lost years. With our current resources there is no longer any excuse for that.[25] And now, much more than then, in the technological revolution, in the wealth of physical and academic resources, can we honestly even engage in cross-cultural mission without training our missionaries in things cross-cultural?

Quite apart from all this, sophisticated or simple, the evangelist has to be able to put himself into the shoes of the people to whom he goes, to see their point of view, to feel their felt needs, to suffer and rejoice with them. If one needs biblical training to communicate the Gospel to them he needs anthropology to communicate it meaningfully, and as both are fully available to us it makes us the more responsible to use them. Missionary and anthropologist alike must begin by acknowledging the fact of cultural parallaxis.

HISTORICAL PARALLAXIS

Dan Crawford (1916), an old-time missionary far back in colonial times, wrote a perceptive book with a superb title - Thinking Black - in which he pictured some Africans gazing at a great river and posed as a caption - "The eternal question: how to cross?" We too are dealing with obstacles to be crossed. They may be cultural or theological - or across time.

The history of mission, as an aspect of our discipline, has run into a good deal of fire in my time. The basic problem of historiography is that scholars in one period of time are writing about another, and either they become mere recorders of facts or interpreters of them, and in either case they run into the problem of parallaxis. There are some who say that history is about dead things, people and periods, and ought to be buried with them: at best it is a hobby for antiquarians and not a serious matter for modern times. On the other hand there are some who dwell on the continuities of history, the stream of God's purpose running through it, and the lessons with which it challenges us today. Where do we stand in this matter in missiology? I think I must admit that the history of mission is to me the worst taught subject in our curriculum. It bypasses the dynamics of its dramas. It glorifies things which should be critically probed, and could teach us something if that were done properly. It is boring whereas it could be exciting. I am not the first person to pose the question - has it any value for us?[26]

Personally I think it has. I do not hesitate to confess that I am in love with ethnohistory as a methodology, and I believe that to get the great potential of Church and modern history, the research method will have to be radically modified in that direction. It was an historian who said that writers had to "get into the act"[27] and that means to recognize the particular historical parallaxis as well as the cultural one. There was another famous historian who came to the conclusion that classical history was always written as if it were the fighting between France and England, and thereafter he resolved to read only Greek and Roman sources.[28] There was a novelist who set up his whole household in the structures and lifestyle of ancient Greece and lived as a Greek while he was writing a novel about that time and place.[29] And one wonders, for example, what would happen to a work on Luther, say, if the researcher was immersed for twelve months in the study of the Peasants' Revolt. What would it say to the dynamics of the popular response to Luther's own radicalism? I do not know - but I can certainly speculate.[30]

What I do know is that one cannot study the present-day people movements into Christianity in the contemporary animist world, or through the Pacific world of the last century, without being struck by the great dynamic similarities with the history of Boniface and Patrick, and without being driven back to Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England. I have a completely new set of questions to ask the historians about all those movements stimulated by the conversion of Constantine.[31] The historians have scarcely touched the reality of those situations, just as our modern theologians of the West have never understood contemporary group conversion. Those nearest to understanding them mostly turn out to be Old Testament scholars.[32]

In secular anthropology the same problem with historical parallaxis is apparent. A good example has been brought to light recently in Freeman's attack on the early work of Margaret Mead in Samoa, when as an immature young woman she found herself in a thought-world dominated by her master, Frans Boas. From a viewing point in the intellectual battles of the West she viewed the ancient island society and made herself a willing victim of her informants who gave her what she wanted them to give her. Whatever we may think of the timing of that book, the point seems to be well made (Freeman, 1983).

To return now to the people movements from animism into Christianity, a "grey area" in missiological research: It is cultural, but not exclusively so; there is a dimension of time depth - not according to the calendar, but according to the period of exposure to Christianity. Does the reported missionary experience of a people coming out of cannibalism a century ago (say, in Fiji) say anything to a similar movement today for a people, in, for example, some Indonesian island, with a somewhat similar lifestyle? Are there lessons to be learned? Are there indications of things to be expected and prepared for? Is there a value here from a history of culture contact?

Or, taking a single mission field with a century or so of time depth, what does historical analysis show of the changing parallaxis of that emerging Christian society? Are the conversions of the contact period different from those of the second or third generation of Christians? What does mission history say to the emerging indigenous Church? If the discipline is to survive it has to justify itself by probing this kind of issue.[33]

This came home to me strongly in Papua New Guinea and in the Solomons, researching there after many years of work in Fiji. The Melanesian backgrounds were not that different, but there were basic emerging differences that demanded explanation. The missionary thrust was theologically identical, and the support system was the same; yet one developed much better towards indigeneity than the other. The historical question was "Why?"[34] In investigating this I had to devise a system or a tool for identifying levels of time depth for making comparisons. I discovered an historical parallaxis that I wrote up under the term time perspective, which originally came from Edward Sapir (1916).[35] I began to study time depth in a single field, with some significant results, which should be allowed for in every mission-field church growth study. People coming out of animism cannot be studied like a church in the West which has continued in its course for centuries. There are significant phenomenological changes over the first hundred years at least with shifts in the historical parallaxis, which must be understood in any diachronic study.[36]

The time depth tool is useful in examining and classifying data on the cause or motivation for conversion at different periods of a mission-field church history. The tool I used was formulated thus in time units (TU):

TU 1	Pre-contact Period
TU 2	Period of Awareness
TU 3	Period of Conversion Breakthrough
TU 4	Second Generation Christianity
TU 5	Period of Rapid Acculturation

I had a precise record of TU 3 from the archives - a sample of 55 Fijian conversion experiences which specified 10 different factors as stimulating decision. Only 40% of the cases were due to direct advocacy, and 53% were due to power encounters of some kind. Some of the 40% had also been influenced a little by observations of power encounter. There was a strong parallaxis from this viewpoint of conversion. On the other hand, TU 4 records kept in the Bau Circuit provided me with a sample of 238 conversions in that single location over a 7-year period with a relatively constant average. They registered 71% as due to preaching, and 5% to Bible study; 22% came from spiritual stimulation of some kind within the faith life, and 2% resulted from dreams and sickness. Thus there is a manifest difference of viewpoint about conversion in the two periods. Not only does this cause a problem for statistical comparison of growth but it raises a practical issue for a missionary being transferred from a pioneering area to one where the church life is stabilized, or vice versa. Thus, even with the same people, one may have to deal with more than one parallaxis in the evangelical task.[37]

During my own time in Fiji I was involved in a "Mission to Fiji" program in Sept./Nov. 1953, through the Bau/Ra Division. I did not keep my records for propaganda purposes but for subsequent church growth analysis, which I was exploring myself before I ever met McGavran.[38] I was trying to ascertain what kind of felt needs the Mission was meeting, and the following statistics will indicate what I learned in the process -

849 of those who responded were young folk registering their first public commitment.

382 were first-time adult commitments (conversions within the church, persons familiar with church life but not previously committed)

66 were what the Wesleyans called "Backsliders repenting"

249 were already committed Christians seeking to advance further in participating roles in the responsible leadership of congregational life.

As a result of this I found it necessary to develop new types of vernacular literature - for new commitments, the Christian life and leadership aids.[39] In passing, it all revealed a TU 5 parallaxis, which viewed evangelism from an angle of fairly specific Christian expectation - an established and structured, congregationally approved set of expectations of response, a pattern into which I myself was expected to fit and which could not in any way be compared with those of TU 3 or TU 4.

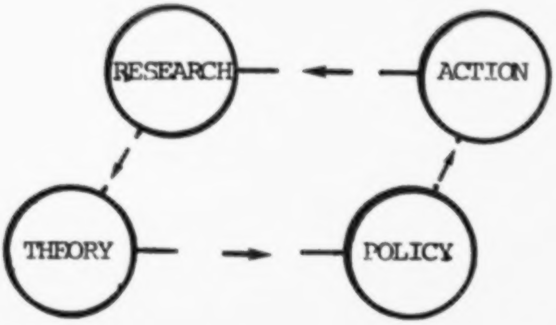
What then does the historical parallaxis mean to the post-colonial missionary? Once we concede that there are still animist people on the mission fields of the world who are being confronted by the Gospel in some form of power encounter,[40] and elsewhere (but nearby) we face first generation Christians who need reviving, and still others with high Christian expectations for operating within the Koinonia (Greek, Κοινωνία the fellowship of believers) - which should be operating as an independent and not a mission church in any case - we see how the missionary (or indigenous pastor) has to be flexible enough to shift from one point of viewing to another.

This kind of analysis will also reveal how the basic animist religion can change suddenly, while certain animistic practices of magic and divination may continue for years - a matter which Malinowski observed but never did understand, although he handled the magic well.[41] This does not mean that the initial evangelism was bad (as the historians would often have us believe of the Constantine period) but that the follow-up after conversion left a good deal to be desired. The correct incorporation of converts into the young church within their own world view is a matter which calls for much deeper consideration than it has hitherto received.

Western contemporary evangelism based on the preaching of a theology in a vacuum, without context, expecting some denominational or uniform response, foreign in character, is never likely to bring truly indigenous churches into being. Neither can there be any universal Lord without a recognition of these indigenous forms of parallaxis at each different historical time depth.

PROMOTIONAL PARALLAXIS

Were it a laughing matter one might propose an old-fashioned kind of riddle: "When is a mission not a mission?" But it is not funny. Many a missionary heart has been broken by promotional parallaxis, especially when a field missionary and board fall out on a matter of policy or strategy. My earliest attempt at the formulation of a model for discussing policy was to differentiate four points for consideration in a theoretical construct I called a parallelogram of forces in Christian mission. It operated like an electric circuit, thus -

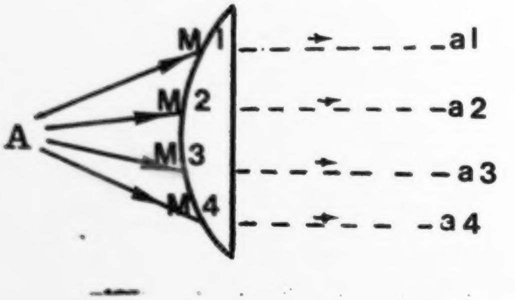


I saw the process as beginning from some factual truth that came from research, and gave rise to a body of theory. This in turn demanded some specific policy, either a change of, or confirmation of, existing procedure. This was then transmitted to the field in action. This action stimulated further research - and so on, like an electric current. As long as the current flows there should be a dynamic process at work, but if the current be broken at any point everything becomes static.[42]

I think now, as I look back from 20 years later, that no doubt the notion of a flowing current was a good one, but mission boards do not like this kind of model which often threatens their vested interests and the policies that have undeclared motivation. In those early years of church growth theory we faced some very strong opposition from mission boards which feared the simplicity of the ideas we were pressing - especially the notion of deploying persons and funds to fields ripe unto harvest, for example.[43]

For a single point a simple model like this might have been adequate but it was an oversimplification. In any case it was a closed system and therefore had theological weaknesses. In a way it was really a reflection of the fact that I could never get a hearing with my own board, and I was frustrated, so I discarded the model as the locus of an encounter of parallaxes in a struggle which I lost.

McGavran also had his frustrations of parallaxis. From the very start he has had critics who have distorted his church growth writing in unbelievable ways. Not only did they distort his writing, they distorted even the biblical definition of the Christian mission itself by the technique of synecdochism, by focusing on the part and treating it as the whole: thus service, dialogue, Christian presence (all of which McGavran accepted in themselves) became substitutes for mission and evangelism which could be phased out without disobedience to the Great Commission.[44] Here was an encounter of parallaxis indeed. In those days I sought a model for distortion rather than parallaxis. There was one I used at seminars for fielding questions that seemed to bypass the evangel. We were attacked for precipitating "dialogical crises," for example, which was the academic mood of the day. I used a chalk-talk model of attitudinal refraction. I never used it in print but it was accepted by those who shared my parallaxis. I argued that the Great Commission as in Matthew 28 (A) was communicated in missiology by missiologists 1-4 as through a lens as images (a) 1-4 projections of A, or rather interpretations reflecting the viewpoints of the missiologists not the Great Commission itself. M 1-3 were the then current issues - service, dialogue and Christian presence. The M4 would be the next one which would surely turn up shortly. It did: it was humanization.[45] The Great Commission of Scripture (Capital A) became refractions of the missiologists (lower case "a" 1-4) and made it a feeble human affair - or they could be refractions of boards or sending churches.



The meaning of the Great Commission is only one of many missiological focal points which may be viewed from different points of viewing. However, because it is central in the whole idea of mission, and Christian mission itself stands or falls with it, any extension of its meaning or truncation of its meaning must mean it is open for manipulation. Boards, churches and missiologists have not been guiltless at this point, *especially for promotional purposes.*

I explored this idea in 1973 in an article on "Cultural Compulsives," suggesting that they could rewrite the Great Commission and get away with it. Let me cite from that article with some abbreviation:

> I was engaged in researching New Britain church growth in the years of rehabilitation after the war. Our plant had been badly hit by enemy action. Every male missionary on the field at the time had lost his life. The buildings were completely destroyed. The indigenous Christians "went bush". Many survived but the mission itself was obliterated. The home board appealed to the home church for support. The author of the written appeal was a fine fellow whom I knew well, but he manipulated the Great Commission by proclaiming that the Lord commissioned us to go, to preach, to teach, to heal and now (in the face of the ravages of war) to build. His motivation was to piggy-back a huge western-type rebuilding program on the words of our Lord. So the Board re-established the paternalistic institutionalism which they could have well done without. I'm not at all sure the Lord did want that rebuilt. The Church at large accepted it. As far as I know no one objected to that appalling exegesis (1973:179-80).

Thus at a particular point in time and under a missionary and cultural compulsive, the truth is distorted and becomes a victim of the official promotional policy in crisis. That promotional parallaxis at a specific point in time is a sad but historical lesson for the new era.

At the risk of complicating my typology I shall turn in a moment to the consideration of functional parallaxis. In a way, the promotional parallaxis we have been discussing is functional. However, under this head I have been considering the promotional aspect as it leads to a clash of parallaxis where functions are *competitive. A field missionary and the sending board* are not the only manifestations of this. It can come between two missionary colleagues, or two fellow committee members, or two missiologists, as the pages of the International Review of Mission so often demonstrate. Or the encounter may be theological. Not every competitive parallaxis is missiological. Anthropology also has had its "Boas & Graebner", its "Bidney and White", has it not?

FUNCTIONAL PARALLAXIS

We have seen how the Great Commission was bent to serve a functional need in a crisis situation. The offence at this point is that the Great Commission is the basic paradigm of Christian mission and any manipulation at that point could be utterly destructive, either theologically or structurally. However, in every missionary document or letter there is a functional element. It may lead to competition or to co-operation.

One has only to examine the annual reports of missionary bodies or the prayer-letters of missionaries to see that the function is strongly loaded to specific ends. The very nature of the prayer-letter is functional, and furthermore it has both a manifest and latent function. At the first level it is aimed at increasing the interest in and prayer support for the missionary and his program. At the second level the "envelope within the envelope" is just as basic.

The same applies to the very idea of missionary deputation itself. Yet in a lifetime of listening to missionary deputationists, I never really learned much aboup the deeper character of missions at work. They were geared to raise support, to secure personnel, etc., rather than to educate the home church in mission. The church supporters went to get education: they got promotion. The result for me was that I got many wrong ideas about missions which subsequently had to be unlearned.

Likewise, when I had to do my own deputation rounds I found that I was part of a machine and never free to be myself as I wanted to be. I wanted to share, to educate, to inform: I had to promote the specific needs of the work at large at that point in time - not always raising money: it might be seeking new missionaries. This latent function took control of me. The stories I told, the pictures I had to supply, had to be functionally conditioned. Many of the best things I had to offer my friends at home were never shared because I was boxed in in my operation. Again, when I wanted to say something outright to the board, especially on a point of reform, I was expected to "Maintain course and not rock the boat." It was the function - often the latent function - of our two parallaxes which were incompatible.

Missionary literature of every kind exposes the functional parallaxis of the author - the style of writing, the theme developed, the appeal at the end. But there are other functions which are high in motivation. We had in Fiji a small body of literature - manuals for biblical instruction, guidebooks for preachers and personal workers, instructions in the Christian way for new Christians, Sunday School lesson material, catechisms and hymnbooks. These had single functions that were quite manifest. There was a "Life of Christ" and a "Life of Paul" - all of these in Fijian language. My little book The Deep-Sea Canoe was written for Pacific Islanders to inform them of their almost forgotten traditions in mission, in a basic theology of mission, in simplified English. I bargained with the publisher to keep down the price for the sake of the island market, and it soon sold out. The focus was on the island evangelists themselves, not on the western missionaries, because in simple honesty I felt they demanded more copy than they had ever received in our traditional missionary literature, which was normally written for the consumption of the home churches interested in the missionaries they had sent forth. This was a worthy motive, no doubt; but in the private journals of those same missionaries the island evangelists occupied a much greater place than they ever received in the overseas missionary biographies. I wanted to make a small contribution towards the correction of this shortcoming, and to that end my little book was specifically functional.

I would suggest, then, to missiologists of the new era that they read the literature of the colonial era with care. Much of it they will reject as having a colonial parallaxis, but there is also much worthy of preservation and even of restatement. Two things need to be kept in mind. Every piece of writing has a context. Likewise it has a function behind production. If the context and function be kept in mind readers will discover much to their profit from this parallaxis. Whatever the function - educational, theological, theoretical or support - once the function is clear the parallaxis will be understood and the reading will be perceptive.

Diversity of function is not confined to literature and support. It bears on the motivation which takes missionaries to the field in the first place, the nature of the types of mission established and the precise functions of their programs, their modes of operation and so on. Every type of mission - a mobile itineration program, a sedentary institution, a mission hospital, an agricultural school to give a young church an economic base, or an evangelistic crusade - each has its functional purpose and the persons involved will all manifest the particular parallaxis of that way of thinking about mission. They may co-operate or compete even at the same time as sharing a common conviction about their being obedient to the One Lord. One does not need to argue this diversity of function. It is enough to point out that the first step in understanding any one of them is to identify the function of his or her frame of viewing things.

PROFESSIONAL PARALLAXIS

In our own personal living we recognize various professional 'ways of viewing' as essential for our good. We seek medical, legal, financial or pastoral advice. We never think of these as 'biases' unless perhaps we run up against them in some town or church committee. Yet we seldom extend this diversification of professional parallaxis to cross-cultural situations. We group all Africans and all Polynesians together as if they had only one way of viewing things. We say "African" when it ought to be "Zulu" or "Amharic," say.

We announce that "The Fijians say" this or that when we may mean the Lau Islanders or the Viti Levu mountaineers, whose life style and languages are quite different. If we do that on the broadest level, what allowance do we make for parallaxis diversity within any given tribe itself? Yet it is vital for a missionary or any other cross-cultural worker to recognize that tribal people also have their professional diversity: the chief, the priest, the herald, the sorcerer do not see their own tribe through the same eyes. They may even use a different vocabulary to describe the things they see.

Researching among the Navaho Indians I found I had to move with caution in interviewing so as not to lose rapport. This was very much so when discussing peyote, which was a delicate point in the Navaho churches at that time. I used a vague, non-loaded question so as not to expose myself but to place myself in the learner role. My informant would expose himself - "Oh! You mean the Peyote-eaters?" or alternatively "Are you asking about the Native American Church?" Thus I would know his parallaxis from the disrespect or respect of his own terminology and thereafter I could question him more freely. I was engaged in a research exercise for the Navaho Church and, sadly, I had to confirm their fears of the degree of parallaxis disagreement they had among their own members.

The existence of group viewpoints, however, need not fall out along lines of cleavage into factionalism. It may be like our own professional viewpoints. And there may be something quite positive in bringing them together.

There is a case I have developed in my Fijian Material Culture (1968:26-28) where I am differentiating some apparently conflicting evaluations of a single artifact, a spear, by a number of Fijians. In fact they were perceiving the spear from different points of viewing, and each was quite consistent within the criteria of this frame of reference and function. How one Fijian (or group of Fijians) evaluates a spear as "beautiful or "useful" and another as "poorly made" or "useless" (it being a Fijian spear) entirely depends on whether the evaluation comes from a craftsman who makes spears for his living, or a fisherman, or a dancing-master or a warrior. Each person or group of persons of the same profession will have their criteria, felt need, purpose, expectation for the weapon/ instrument, and there is a consensus in the group. So there are at least four quite different, but quite correct, evaluations and perceptions.

Thus we do great injustice to a tribal people by generalizing about them as if they are to be regarded as tribal stereotypes. If we oversimplify the people with whom we work we shall never learn to know them. In this way anthropological enquiry, even in the area of material culture (which is an index to behavior in any case) demands that we recognize human complexity. In the West we recognize our parallaxes by viewing from such frames as "banking procedures" and "computer systems". A frame of viewing in a "coconut culture" or in a world of "camel husbandry" is just as complex as the technical vocabulary will demonstrate.[46]

The passage about the spear goes on to deal with a certain flag, discussing again different attitudes to, and perceptions of, that flag as used in a certain pre-Christian 'naval' ceremonial. These perceptions relate to social behavior, to function, to the status of participants and their interaction in the ceremonial. In a world built round elaborate ceremonies of communal interaction at various levels of political and kinship structure, any missionary had better learn how to perceive it all through cultural eyes not his own.

You ask me why? Because the structure of any church among those people, if it is to be indigenous, will need to resemble the structures they know as their own. How will the Εκκλησία : Ekklesia (Church at large) and the Κοινωνία : Koinonia (Local Fellowship Community) look at themselves as the Body of Christ with all its interrelating parts, or as the temple fitly framed together, when the missionary goals have been met and they are left standing in their own selfhood? How will the individuals with their different roles and spiritual gifts interrelate as members "not having the same office" yet functioning as a whole body? We study a communal society as a functioning whole, a multi-individual whole, in its public ceremonial, and we can never thereafter talk any rubbish about the 'mass-psychology of tribal society'.[47] Indeed, it tells us far more of "diversity in unity" than most Western institutions and is closer to the New Testament.

An indigenous Church will be recognizably its own social structure. It may well be a reflection of the tribe itself. It will then demonstrate multi-individual unity better. And I mean unity, with all its diversity - not uniformity. We westerners could well place ourselves on the learning side of this parallaxis, and thereby become the more nearly New Testament.

In passing, I note also that each of us having some special gift or skill and differing therein from the next person will have his or her parallaxis. In that very diversity are we the more dependent on each other in the interaction of the whole body. This is true in both the social and the religious life. In *Fijian Material Culture*, again, I sought to demonstrate that each craft complex operated within its own specific and ceremonial social frame of reference and had its own corporate frame of viewing. It had a clear-cut self-perception of the whole, and the multi-individualism within the whole, both drawing from, and giving stability to, the integration and integrity of the whole. We need a top-flight theologian out of communal society to expound the Pauline theology of the κοινωνία and the concept of responsible stewardship - "that the steward (οἰκονόμος , *oikonomos*) may be faithful (πιστός : *pistos*)". Somewhere in this study, the point has to be stressed that the diversity of parallaxis may be a very positive thing - and where better than a paragraph on the Pauline theology of the Body, with its diversity of functional parts (Roman 12:4-8). Indeed, one purpose in formulating this typology is to focus on the fact that parallaxis may be either negative or positive, competitive or co-operative.

I began this unit by reference to our dependence on the professional persons for medical, financial and pastoral advice; and I conclude it with the Pauline theology of the Body - all members having different gifts and different offices yet depending on each other. It would seem right to move now from this a little further into the area of the human personality in all this, seeing that it ultimately lies with the person to determine whether the parallaxis is to be competitive or co-operative. There will be times, I think, when we may need a category of personal parallaxis. Even when the point of viewing is clearly understood there may still be cases which go beyond this to the very nature of the person himself. For example there is a medical historian whose study of history has been through the medical records of the men and women who have shaped history, with some interesting findings.[48]

PERSONAL PARALLAXIS

In the last unit we saw that parallaxis could be co-operative or competitive or even descend into disruptive conflict in a corpus that should have been cohesive. This is an old problem in society. We find it far back in the classics. There was a social mechanism in ancient Greece, for example: ostracism, a structured process, which could be brought into play when two highly gifted citizens competed to such a degree that their rivalry threatened the security of the whole. Was it not thus with Alcibiades?[49] So it does not surprise us to find great diversity of social mechanisms operating between leader and people on the mission fields of the world.

Where a leader with outstanding gifts and perceptions so identifies with public feeling and the socially felt needs that he becomes the spokesman or "ideal type,"[50] a people movement towards Christianity might well result regardless of missionary endeavor, or conversely a cargo cult. But when two equally gifted potential leaders arise in tribal society their rivalry tends to attach itself to factionalism (often on a basis of kin) already in the community and we get a society divided. Alas, the rivalry of Christian denominations has often affiliated with the pre-Christian cleavages in society in this way.

In some societies, where there is considerable scope for individualism, there are nevertheless mechanisms for the control of excessive or aggressive manifestations of it. If an individual pushes his own advantage or advancement too far or too fast so that he runs against social opinion there is bound to be a recognized way of bringing him into line, as, for example, in Samoa.[51] Or there may be a way of gently warning him, as in Fiji when a young upstart speaks too often out of place and some elder will simply ask him, "Who is your father?" One reason for the survival of sorcery in Christian times is that it is not seen so much as a moral evil, but as a social mechanism to control the socially idiosyncratic rebel to keep his innovations within the social bounds. It only comes into play when society itself feels threatened. Thus, a missionary who gets close to the people will discover himself in a world of legitimate and socially approved ways of competing, striving for mastery and so forth, and the interplay is normally at the leadership level.

The researcher in the Pacific is continually unearthing these kinds of parallaxis encounters. It is wrong to say there is no scope for individualism in tribal society, but it has to be played within the rules of the game, and I must confess that these handle the problems far better than I have known western magistrates to be able to do.[52]

The mechanism utilized may be, say, "shame". Europeans, especially European Christians react strongly against this parallaxis, but they have not been able to propose any appropriate functional substitute - which is what has to be done to change custom. Ask first what the function of the custom was: was it a worthy purpose? If so, how can the problem be dealt with in a Christian way?[53] The most important thing is the survival or perpetuity of the social group as a whole and as an operating institution. Accepting Christianity cannot change this.

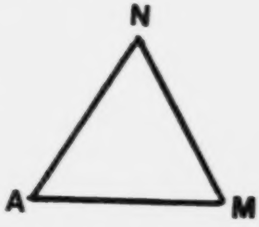
Provided that is safeguarded, there is scope for individual action and interaction. There is a normal range of choices for such action - socially patterned choices. It was to describe and classify such choices that Wallace devised his research tool of cognitive maps. (The reader is referred to his discussion in Culture and Personality 1968:31-39). It is a useful tool for helping a missionary understand the normal operations of stimulus and response in a cross-cultural system strange to him. These maps reveal the patterns of variety within the normal behavior - the socially acceptable patterns of action and counter-action, and they help the identification of parallaxes.

In situations of culture contact new parties enter the scene - planters, whalers, missionaries, traders, and so on. At first they are all "people from over the horizon" and therefore an "outgroup".[54] As time moves on they are classified by the native people. In the past, for example, they distinguished between sandalwooders (who had arms and ammunition and joined in native war for a cargo of sandalwood) and missionaries (who brought Bibles and a new value system). Still to this day any outsider without a recognizable category is a source of suspicion until he is assigned one.[55] This is not determined on a basis of the parallaxis of the foreigner but by that of the native observer, and is related to the notion of tribal security and functional role in the eyes of the observer. Thus the first missionary is usually regarded as some kind of priest and evaluated in terms of the native priesthood. Furthermore this may affect the meaning of his message. There is also a subtle interplay between the different parallaxes of the local Chief and the new foreign missionary, both in the way they view themselves and the way they view each other.[56]

The local observer's way of viewing the missionary will certainly color the meaning given to the gospel communicated by the missionary.[57] If the missionary is given a wrong image, and his gospel is accepted with wrong expectations, he (and his successors) may never eliminate those misconceptions, which may well become thereafter the basic philosophical cause of cargo cults.[58] As long as there are still frontier situations in the missionary world these differences of personal parallaxis will be highly significant.

If that be true in the contact situation itself, it is equally true in the records: i.e., in the primary sources from which we have to reconstruct the contact period in the history of mission. For example, to pose a question: Would this encounter of conflicting parallaxes be apparent in a missionary journal, say, or would that be 'biased' from the missionary point of view alone? The question is important because anthropologists have often discarded the missionary journal as 'biased' whereas the question raises the possibility of its reflecting the various parallaxes confronted by the missionary journal enlightening if approached in a scientific manner. One does need some kind of research tool to sort out the data, but it can be done. Let me illustrate how.

Some years ago I was researching the manuscript journals of John Geddie, pioneer missionary in Aneiteum, New Hebrides, and I found myself pondering his picture of both New Hebrideans and sandalwooders - through his eyes, of course - and sought some methodological tool for penetrating his images to the images those groups must have had of themselves. Behind his evaluations there was of course a residue of observed behavior. A journal of this kind contains evidence of what was observed and evidence of what the observer thought about it. Scholars who dismiss missionary writing as 'biased' automatically dispose also of the manifest facts they observed. Behavior tells us more than we at first imagine. I analyzed this on a structured tool which I created for the purpose - a Triangle of Relationships - to control my selective reading. I was concerned, at the simpler level, with three parties - native animists (N), adventurers, resident foreigners, sandalwooders, et al (A) and missionaries (M). I set down these symbols at the points of a triangle. I read and re-read the journal script, taking my stand at each point in turn, trying to put myself in the parallaxis from that point. As "A" I related my feelings and behavior towards "N" and "M" (AN and AM relationships) and so on . Now I was able to arrange my data as AN, AM, NA, NM, MA and MN. Material which might well have been regarded as 'biased' suddenly became highly valuable as data. I had identified the parallaxes by sitting where they sat, as it were, to the benefit of my understanding of the journal as a whole.[59]



The tool is then open for compounding to a second level of abstraction because each party N, A and M could have its own breakdown. N in the journal could be N1 and N2 - ingroup and outgroup - because Geddie found himself regarded locally as affiliated with the native group in whose locality he resided and the Chief of that group. N1 and N2 therefore "behaved toward him" differently. A also could be A1 (sandalwooders) or A2 (whalers) each with its different but structured behavior pattern, and there were other foreigners also. Even the Ms were not completely alike, and indeed there was one character who shifted from M to A. The research tool is thus open for extension for a more diversified identification of parallaxes of, say, different kinds of missionary, and so on ad infinitum. Indeed this would make a beautiful tool for researching missionary relations and their ways of viewing the missionary task in a field like Tahiti, say.

The differentiation of the missionary parallaxes is an area of policy conflict that badly needs a critical tool like this to eliminate the more emotional quality it tends to assume. The tool also could be used to counter the awful injustices of certain journalists, anthropologists and cynics who love to stereotype the mythical missionary: "The missionary says," and "The missionary does" this or that.[60]

And there I shall have to leave my types of parallaxis. I do not claim any degree of completeness, nor any skill in construction. I have merely discussed what I have seen and felt as a kind of data by hindsight on points of viewing - good and bad - which underlie our ethnocentricity, our competition and co-operation. And I suggest it as a field for refinement by missiologists of the new era of mission. Arising from this I now turn to two related matters, the parallaxis shift and the integration of parallaxes.

THE PARALLAXIS SHIFT

There are two forms of parallaxis shift. One is a specific "about-face", a conversion, a new conviction, a reformation, or, negatively, a moral collapse, intentional or otherwise, when a person changes his frame of viewing and is never quite the same thereafter. For example, there was a scholar in Los Angeles who loved to battle with religious persons because they started their reasoning from a faith position. Then suddenly he discovered he was himself doing that very thing - his paradigm was a faith in science, its laws and possibilities. I do not know that he became a religious person but he certainly shifted his philosophical position and his mode of perceiving.[61] Some of the great works of literature have come to us in this process.[62]

The second is a conscious act of will whereby one deliberately puts himself in the place of another to see, share or understand that person's frame of viewing. The best actors on the stage do this. The best biographers seek to achieve it.[63] In social research procedure it is done to establish rapport, to improve communication, to perceive problems, to understand behavior, to ascertain felt needs and to identify hidden riches in documentary records. But it requires a conscious act of will. Something of oneself has to be put aside, at least temporarily. One becomes, as it were, another kind of person looking through an unfamiliar window. That has all been said before in textbooks on interviewing, writing, and acting, but perhaps we may go a step further. It is enlightening for a researcher (writer, actor, etc.) to look at himself with his own tools.

Missionary centenary histories are invariably written from the parallaxis of the centenary rather than that of the primary sources. The temptation is for subsequent writers to use the centenary study rather than go back to the primary sources, so that the result is "an interpretation of an interpretation" of the original.[64] This came home to me when I was working on my People Movements in Southern Polynesia (1971), the manuscript of which was ready for print in 1963. One sequence of events was dependent on secondary sources of 1914. It could not be bypassed but the picture I was getting somehow had a wrong parallaxis. I delayed publication to my colleagues' disgust. Seven years later I gained access to the original primary sources used by the 1914 writer, and instead of the parallaxis of Australia facing the first year of the Great War, I now found myself viewing from the point where I knew I should have been viewing. The book was now sent to press, the much more accurate for the delay, and for a little rewriting.

Again in the same research, the danger of seeing the contact period from one's own present-day parallaxis, in terms of one's current writing and motivation, came home to me. We tend to see things as monocausal to our own apologetic advantage rather than as in their original complexity. I felt I had to include an appendix reporting three accounts of a single episode, which frankly at first read like three different events. The reporting was from three entirely different frames of viewing, one a Polynesian anthropologist with a missionary 'chip' on his shoulder (which itself dates him in his period of anthropology), a missionary historian with a particular view of history, and a mission board administrator with a mood to justify the missionary image with his sponsoring constituency. Each suffered from gross oversimplification. Each perceived events monocausally. Each had his own underlying motivation. Each missed the real dynamics of what was going on in the historical event narrated in the same primary sources used by each of them.[65]

As I look back now on my own publication about people movements in Southern Polynesia I can see my own parallaxis of people movement dynamism. I was writing at a desk beside that of Jim Sunda, who had lived through the Dani conversion movement at Pyramid Mountain in Irian Jaya and was armed with photographs of the enthusiasm that they manifested. He answered spontaneously all the 'sticky' questions I threw at him: he had seen it in the flesh. These are the questions traditional historians avoid because they are beyond the field of their viewing and their phenomenology. It lined up with my Fijian experiences and was the only possible way I could find of interpreting the Fijian documents created through the 1840s to the 1870s. Of course I know the day will come when my book will be critically appraised as a composition from the parallaxis of "McGavran urgency" (1950-70). I do not deny this stimulus, but if the critic will read my earlier work on Fiji, The Christian: Fiji 1835-1857 (1954) he will see I was using this frame of viewing long before I met McGavran.

What happened in our early days at Eugene, Oregon, was that McGavran brought together a team of field missionaries from West New Guinea, Korea, Brazil, and Fiji - all regions of tremendous people movement experiences and drew them into his harvest theology and the notion of "the timing of God". They produced some significant missiological books, and were saying to the world that as long as there remained frontier situations in Africa, Papua New Guinea, Indonesia, the Philippines or elsewhere, as long as there could be cargo cults in one direction, there could be people movements into Christianity in the opposite direction. This came into focus especially in the 1960s but these publications still speak to the contemporary world of encounter with animism. McGavran's intuition and drive bound us together. Our coming together was what Cardinal Newman, I believe, called "a convergence of history."[66]

In those days missiology itself was going through a parallaxis shift. In church growth circles most of us had modified our old traditional positions, and McGavran was pleased with the "new genre of missiological literature being produced". Focus fell on the positives of growing Christian communities, their anthropological structures, on indigeneity and on the drama of cultural dynamics. Anthropologically, it was in tune with the increasing attention being paid to studies in social change. We had a comfortable relationship with this discipline at the University of Oregon, and indeed Dr. Homer Barnett profoundly influenced our thinking, which was methodologically radical but theologically conservative (not fundamentalist, i.e., literalist). The Liberal theologians could not see beyond McGavran's battle for conservative Christianity and missed the significant parallaxis shift going on behind it. There is a great gulf in Conservative conferences between Berlin (1966) and Lausanne (1974), and the Lausanne Covenant reveals the parallaxis shift of which I speak.[67]

As for myself, personally I hope that two great national scholars may arise from our graduates, one to record in detail with the dramatic power of Mark's Gospel style the contemporary movements out of animism into Christianity to set over as the positive against the many current works on the cargo cults; and a second to rewrite the history of the Church through the Middle Ages. Only persons with people movement parallaxis by conviction can do that. It is quite beyond any 'objective' anthropologist or traditional historian. It is beyond the tools of documentation and measurement of the scientists and historiographers. It belongs in the dynamics of experience and is research in the area of phenomenology. When the sons of Oceania become anthropologists and theologians this dimension will most surely be developed.

Although I have been mostly concerned with premeditated parallaxis shifts for research purposes, one could write a whole book on those sudden discoveries of unsuspected truth that transformed perceiving and, therefore, writing styles. However parallaxis shifts come gradually all the time in the course of acculturation in the growing years of a young Church. We see it, for example, in the realization of and development of the ethical implications of the Gospel. Conversion in Fiji had an immediate effect on cannibalism, widow-strangling, warfare and the like; but there were more indirect confrontations within kinship loyalties, courtship, marriage, divination and rituals associated with agriculture and economics, that raised ethical questions in time as the people grew in grace.[68] The missionary has to distinguish between the shifts that come suddenly with conversion and those that come slowly and accompany Christian growth.

There is a still further kind of parallaxis shift for every person whom we might describe coloquially as "having to wear two hats". Applied anthropologists are running into it all the time. It came home to me forcefully when I was researching Solomon Islands Christianity for the island Church. I was located for a time in the village of Rarumana (Wanawana), and for some weeks I dwelt there in my leaf house, joining in the village life, observing public events and conversing with the locals. The people accepted me as a friendly stranger and many sought me out for a friendly chat. I attended morning and evening prayers and they knew me as a Christian, but it was not disclosed to them that I had missionary connections elsewhere. Only the catechist knew this. He had offered to give me a free hand but I had shown him that I was there to observe, and if I was to help them I had to observe their life as it really was. He accepted this and we agreed that when my time was over I would preach for him on the last Sunday before my departure. On that last

Sunday word went round that I would preach, and I think every villager came to church. What I was not quite prepared for was the major parallaxis shift we experienced. Many of my regular visitors did not come again. But a whole new company of people now wanted to share things with me, both to ask and to answer questions. The information I collected in that last two or three days would have made a book in itself and it would have been quite a different book from that assembled before. Not only was I seen from two different points of viewing by the locals, but the stories supplemented each other. It also shows why an anthropologist and a missionary may tell different stories, yet both be true. Not only do the anthropologist and missionary each have a particular parallaxis, but local people also view the stranger from a different parallaxis.

THE INTEGRATION OF PARALLAXES

Everybody must have some way of viewing things. There is no such thing as a person being without some kind of parallaxis. It depends on his or her physical and spiritual gifts, knowledge, training, experience. It reflects the uniqueness of personality and the roles open to one as a participant in society. It is not possible to opt out of everything and live in a vacuum. One's way of viewing things is the key to selfhood. We can really know others only by entering their way of life through their door of viewing. We know, we share, we communicate, we empathize just so much as we can see things through their eyes as it were. This does not mean we accept everything they believe, but we can understand it, and put ourselves in tune with their feelings, and establish rapport. We are in harmony. If we respond thus to each other there is an integration of parallaxis - and integration is a two-way process.

There is a research method known as participant observation, which is an integration, a synthesis, as John Madge, the social scientist puts it -

> When the heart of the observer is made to beat as the heart of any other member of the group under observation, rather than that of a

> detached emissary from some distant laboratory, then he has earned the title of participant observer (1965:137).

The other side of the coin is that when he enters the life of that community being observed, "his subjects have to learn to take him for granted, and to behave almost as though he were not there....."

To put this into the terminology of Christian mission we have a Christian from one world being incorporated into a Fellowship of Believers (κοινωνία : Koinonia) with a different language and worship-style from his own. To be a Participant (κοινωνος : Koinonos) among the Participants (κοινωνοί : Koinonoi) in the Community in Fellowship (κοινωνία : Koinonia) he must learn the language and learn to "praise and pray" in their cultural style within it; not merely to do things liturgically as they do, but to worship with them "in spirit and in truth."

In the integration of parallaxis I may go to dwell with a folk who view things differently from me - perhaps a non-white, non-western way, say. There is no likelihood of their confusing me as one of them physically, but I may be accepted as "one of them". As a foreigner and a white man I may even have some white man skills to offer the group when I am called on. But I am involved in their way of living, I eat their food and use their language, I contribute to their public functions, I mourn at their funerals and I share in their distributions. If they feel the need of my white man skills they feel it natural to ask for my help or advice. They assign me a social position for their ceremonials, so that I know where I belong and what to do. They have incorporated me into the pattern, and we feel at home with each other. As for me personally, I slip off gently into their parallaxis without surrendering my own. It was that way with me while I lived at Bau in Fiji where some deeply cultural experiences were opened to me.[69]

A corporate group is of multi-varied composition, not only in gifts and skills, but in its points of viewing. There is diversity in their unity - which has nothing whatever to do with uniformity. The corporate body is interrelating, interdependent and multi-individual. The integration is somehow spiritual, and the mutual self-knowing is a satisfying experience.

A properly integrated social group and more especially a Christian fellowship, is always confronted by diversity of parallaxes. If that is allowed to lead to factionalism the integration is fractured. If the members have enough confidence in each other to make adjustments when called for and to think holistically about the group itself, its integration is retained and even enriched. The missionary presence should make no difference provided the people see him as "one of us" or as "our missionary", but the title is not given lightly.[70]

On his part the missionary should remember that when he is accepted by a people as theirs the people will designate his place, and show him how he fits into the system as a participant. That is a most generous act on their part, and it calls for a gracious acceptance.

The acceptance of strangers in a communal society requires some major innovations on the part of the group. There are many ways of incorporating the trader, planter, missionary, and others. They may even modify the social structure to extend the courtesy, or create a new role for the foreigner. Of course, it will carry its expectancies, and the normal operations of the society will be expected to continue. The stranger also may have his adjustments to make. He will do this much better if he becomes a fluent speaker of the language and learns to work within the social mechanisms of daily life. One does not disrupt the system of other people's living, but by learning to fit into it one has many opportunities to take the Gospel to them there. To fit into the system like this one must set out to learn it and to understand it well.

In Fijian Material Culture (1968:106-110) I describe an experience when I found myself in difficulties on the south coast of Kadavu. With the aid of my herald (or go-between) I managed to hire a canoe. We were carried out to sea by a storm and ran into a series of crises before safe arrival at our desired haven. I was astonished at the elaborate complex of roles and responsibilities that were set in motion by the unexpected events of that voyage, and that continued after we landed. I was working with a nautical people at this time - quite different in their ways from others with whom I lived at other times. If one is to integrate in this kind of company he had better set out to master the system thoroughly, as Ruth surely had to do after committing herself nobly to Naomi - "Your people shall be my people..." (Ruth 1:16-17).

Perhaps there is still another positive in the integration of parallaxes. No man, in any society, goes far by living unto himself. To put ourselves in a frame of viewing other than our own opens new vistas to us - expands the mind and experience and blesses the soul. Lynn White, once a more or less traditional type of historian discovered the research of the anthropologist, A.L. Kroeber, and was led away from his traditional historiography and style of documentation to the reconstruction of an ancient people's way of life through archaeology, which offered him no documents. It revolutionized his research methods and he developed new ways of reconstructing technological history, which he applied to his own specialized period, the Middle Ages.[71] The cross-fertilization of cultures opens the windows of our vision as we face a new world in our day.

I began by suggesting that any 'insight' in this presentation would be hindsight rather than foresight. Some fifteen years ago Arthur Heinmann, the author, wrote an article "Discoveries by Hindsight" (1969: 20-1,42). He had worked over his stories which did not sell and had discovered that they were all tales in which he glossed over something in the "situation" of the story, so that he had not really put himself into the shoes of his characters. He had discovered the importance of making the parallaxis shift. This essay of mine is a rather cumbersome presentation of a man who has run his course. I too am disclosing hindsight. Perhaps I should do better if I had my time again.

Earlier, I also argued that my generation had learned to pull apart, to analyze, to criticize, to discover more and more about less and less, but we were tragically short on synthesis. There was a great scientist of my own day who pointed out that we were spending ten times as much in breaking down the natural sciences to a state of "specialized meaningness" than we did on the sciences of man, and bemoaned the fact that none of our universities had a "chair of synthesis."[72] Missiology has come through a devastating period of criticism. Missiologists have been brutally maligned. Dedicated people who believed they were responding to a divine call have been pictured as egotistical morons by novelists and other critics who never did or could stand in their shoes. And in response to these attacks missionaries have been made to feel so guilty that they have often responded with self-flagellation far beyond what was called for. Learning from the mistakes of my generation, which I do not deny, I call on the young missiologists of tomorrow to "put it all together again." Recognize the huge range of parallaxes with which we are involved. Respect them. Integrate them. Our world is multi-individual, interrelating, interdependent. We are concerned with corporate wholes, whether societies or fellowship groups. "No man is an island," and unity is not uniformity. The body needs every kind of organ to meet every kind of function. May you be preserved from parallaxes in conflict, and blessed by them when they are in co-operation.

NOTES

[1] For a discussion on bias in missionary documents see my Aspects of Pacific Ethnohistory, 1973, pp. 129, 143, 164-5, 193.

This paper explores the nature of parallaxis with the idea of suggesting the need of a typology. There are many other aspects of the study which would benefit by such a typology. For instance, there is need for the description of truly indigenous Christianity in young churches emerging from animism. I attempted to deal with this in the case of Fiji in my inaugural lecture at St. Mark's, published as Oral Tradition and Ethnohistory: The Transmission of Information and Social Values in Early Christian Fiji, 1835-1905. I would recommend this as a field for further research by retiring missionaries who have mastered the language and its oral forms. An integration of parallaxis of course is essential for this kind of research to be possible.

[2] In opposition to the theoretical library speculations of purely academic scholars, Malinowski insisted on anthropological theory being rooted in field research.

[3] McGavran frequently spoke and wrote of our day and generation as the "Sunrise" and not the "Sunset" of mission, because of the many large communal groups open for evangelism - his "field ripe unto harvest". Thirty years ago he saw the changes coming in, but continuity of, Christian mission (1954).

[4] The term "ethnocentricity" came into anthropology through the scholar, William Graham Sumner, in his essay on "War" (1911) republished by Yale University Press in his Collected Essays. He discussed patriotism, devotion to the "in-group" (p.145), the intensification of ruthlessness in war due to religious belief (157-8) as cases of ethnocentricism. He expounded the concept further with cross-cultural examples in his Folkways 1960, pp.28-30).

[5] Fison became President of the Anthropology Section of the Australasian Association for the Advancement

of Science. Henri Junod's 2-volume study of the Bathonga was described by Evans-Pritchard as "one of the finest anthropological monographs yet written". Edwin W. Smith became President of the Anthropological Association of Great Britain and Ireland. They were not by any means the only missionaries to be so recognized in anthropology.

[6] Significant writing that came from this interdisciplinary interaction included Linton's The Cultural Background of Personality (1945) and Kardiner's The Psychological Frontiers of Society (1945) and "The Concept of Basic Personality Structure as an Operational Tool in the Social Sciences" in Linton's edited volume, The Science of Man in the World Crisis (1945, pp.107-122).

[7] Durkheim Rules of Sociological Method (1938).

[8] Lorimer Fison came into anthropology through Lewis Henry Morgan and to some extent through E.B. Tylor. He researched the kinship system of the Rewa Fijians and the Lau Tongans for Morgan, who published his work through the Smithsonian Institution. Subsequently he teamed up with A.W. Howitt, and together they produced Kamilaroi and Kurnai (1880), the first major kinship study of this kind on Australians. Spencer and Gillen dedicated some of their research to Fison and Howitt.

[9] The phrase is commonly used in his letters, but the reference above comes from his Presidential address to the Anthropology Section of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science at Hobart in 1982. See Proceedings, pp. 144-153.

[10] The missionary problem of meaning received good coverage in our seminars, but see also J.D. Douglas (Ed) Let the Earth Hear His Voice (1974, pp. 844-55, especially the section headed "Pay Attention to Meaning"). See also "The Meaning of Meaning" in Yamamori and Taber (Eds.), Christopaganism or Indigenous Christianity? (1975, Chap. 9).

[11] Hundreds of cases could be cited but to give only one as an example, see T. Cullen Young (1933), "The Communal Bond in Bantu Africa." I also prepared a lengthy typescript reader, bound copies of which are in several

missionary libraries, such as St. Mark's in Canberra and the School of World Mission in Pasadena (hereafter SML.C and SWM.P).

[12] The Statement was published in the Milligan Missiogram and circulated to American professors of mission and mission boards. It reads as follows -

> 1. The training of cross-cultural missionaries for the changing times and conditions of the mission fields of the world in our day, requires more and more understanding and empathy. For many years the discipline of anthropology (especially such aspects as social and applied anthropology, acculturation, cultural dynamics, the phenomenology of religion and ethnolinguistics) has been inadequately utilized in the majority of educational institutions where mission-aries are trained. With the availability of this kind of education in our day, the sending forth of missionaries untrained in anthropology is no longer justifiable.
>
> 2. We recognize that the missionary situation in the world has changed dramatically since World War II, and that the old methods need revision, and the training provided for missionaries needs to be more relevant to the new situations. This requires a re-evaluation of missionary methods and a reconstruction of fields of concentration in any missionary curriculum. Although many institutions are no longer training missionaries, we recognize that as long as missionaries do go forth, under whatever auspices, they need to be trained within a well-developed and relevant cross-cultural curriculum.

This, from the Milligan Statement, April 1974, could not have been proclaimed until anthropology had been developed as an academic discipline. (When I went to the field myself there were no such facilities; now there is no excuse for ignoring them.) Three months later the evangelical world was called to the Lausanne

Congress - delegates from more than 150 countries. It was the first of a long series of congresses to specifically include the cultural dimension in a Covenant Statement, and herein it differed from Wheaton, Berlin, Frankfurt and so on.

Quite apart from the theological aspects four affirmations had anthropological awareness., # 8, 9, 10, and 11.

1. The passage from the old colonial age to a new era was recognized (8).
2. The demand for new forms and structures was admitted (9).
3. Evangelism henceforth was expected to relate to culture and not to be foreign (10).
4. Churches planted in mission programs ought to be indigenous in character and to be indigenously led (11). This was a real breakthrough.

It was also determined that issues bearing on the implementation of these affirmations should be taken to follow-up consultations. The following comes from the Statement of the Pasadena Consultation, June 1977:

> We are unanimous in celebrating the colorful mosaic of the human race that God has created. This rich variety should be preserved, not destroyed by the Gospel. The attempt to impose another culture on people who have their own is cultural imperialism. The attempt to level all to colorless uniformity is a denial of the Creator and an affront to His creation. The preservation of cultural diversity honors God. Each church, if it is to be truly indigenous, should be rooted in the soil of its local culture.....(There was much more than this, but I report here only that part which relates the consultation theologically to the idea of parallaxis.)

In the following January another Consultation was held at Willowbank, Bermuda and I pluck the following from its report:

> "Our Consultation has left us in no doubt of the pervasive importance of culture. The writing and reading of the Bible, the presentation of the Gospel, conversion, church and conduct - all these are influenced by culture. It is essential therefore, that all churches contextualize the Gospel in order to share it effectively in their own cultures. For this task of evangelization we know our urgent need of the ministry of the Holy Spirit."

It will be noted that all these statements are theological and evangelical. They all presuppose the continuity of the Christian mission but they all recognize the importance of culture in shaping the structures of that mission, and the obligation of missionaries to recognize the variety of parallaxes in their operations. I think we may say that the dying colonial age was 'snuffed out' at Lausanne.

[13] As an example of the degree to which an anthropologist might be indebted to a missionary, I once worked through the writings of Sir J.G. Frazer and wrote an article on Frazer and Fison (SML,C). Their correspondence also shows this very heavy indebtedness.

[14] Fison again was very much aware of the loss of cultural material and sought diligently to preserve the record. Through the 1880s and 1890s he was the driving force in Australia for pressuring field missionaries to record cultural information, and for securing its publication by the Australasian Association for the Advancement Science. His own writing and notebooks were voluminous. The parallaxis myth of the later salvage anthropologists was aimed against missionary activity. Pity they did not read the missionary records, even though they had to use missionary dictionaries to do their own research.

[15] A wave of truncated cultural relativism in anthropology, which sought to preserve tribal cultures as they

were supposed to be "changeless," was of course a direct parallaxis clash with Christian mission. It was the main obstruction against the acceptance of anthropology by Evangelicals as late as the 1960s. However, it contained the seeds of its own destruction because with the widening of research in social anthropology tribal society was soon found to be far from static. It was found to have scores of mechanisms for effecting change within its own structures, and the very idea of preserving a society as it was, was a denigration of the integrity of that society itself and denied it the right to innovate. The mission-anthropologists recognized this, and cultural relativism became to them only a port-of-call to allow for tribal independence and autonomy and their right to accept or reject the Gospel they offered. With the emergence of the study of social change the static view of society was doomed.

[16] Once the applied anthropologist appeared to help governments or technical aid programs, they being engaged in advocacy like the missionary, the rights of a tribe in its own decision-making were recognized. The demand for static survival became wrong in the face of the need for progress. Progress was desirable but the right to decide was preserved.

[17] In the 1960s there was a rumbling in anthropology in terms of responsibility. Before the end of that decade no less a journal than Current Anthropology (1968:397-402) published from the pen of Gutorm Giessing a claim for the relevance of applied anthropology because (1) as a social activity it is responsible to society, (2) it cannot live in isolation from reality, and (3) ethically it must serve humanity. How does this discipline validate itself? Surely, by making its skills and knowledge and techniques available in the service of mankind. About the same time Horowitz, the sociologist, was writing of the "commitment of social science to ethical perspectives," and he enumerated the disastrous effects of suppressing that commitment. "Every practicing social scientist," he argued, "must answer anew: Is he a member of a human science or of an anti-human one." (1968:31, 312-313).

[18] Durkheim's "basis of all scientific method", his first corollary, that "all presuppositions must be eradicated" - especially political and religious beliefs because "they carry an emotional tone" which "infects our manner of conceiving them" (i.e. they reveal a parallax error) - is in its very self a beautiful example of a parallax error. The notion of starting research with an objective blank is quite impossible, and this very corollary is an example of that impossibility. When social scientists realized this a new dimension emerged - techniques of establishing rapport in interviewing, participant observation, etc. The researchers' task was now to enter the community and learn to think as they think. There is no parallaxis void, as it were, but parallaxis is something to be admitted and identified. In participant observation alone, a large body of literature has arisen.

[19] Once the discipline moved away from the notion of a static society, and time depth began to receive consideration, social change itself had to be more critically studied and diversified. It was only a matter of time before religious change came in for study, and that included conversion. For some years secular anthropologists avoided the study of religion, but in time the force of the evidence made even the agnostic (e.g., Lowie) admit that religion was a major element in society and could not be by-passed. For some it was now the major element - the integrator, the governor of society - and movement to or from Christianity became subjects for research. Thus church growth studies became valid, provided only that they were scientifically administered.

[20] Ethnohistory throws the spotlight on the weaknesses of church history (including mission history) methodology. As an interdisciplinary pursuit it supplies some of our historiographical needs. Missionary history reveals the negatives but not the capacity to correct many historical errors and expose parallaxis distortions (See "Skeletons in the Literary Closet" in my Aspects of Pacific Ethnohistory (pp., 147-91).

[21] Typescript paper "Paradigm and Model," SML.C.

[22] One of the first of these conferences must have been the New Education Fellowship Conference in Africa in 1935 (See H.P. Junod "Anthropology and Missionary Education," 1935; Loewen, "Missionaries and Anthropologists Co-operate in Research," 1965; Nida, "Missionaries and Anthropologists," 1966; Smalley, "Anthropological Study and Missionary Scholarship," 1960.)

[23] As was pointed out at Vatican II, the Church's mission must spread from Christ's first coming to the second: there is no other frame of time. See also my Verdict Theology in Missionary Theory (1973). No matter what changes are demanded in time and place as to the methods of mission used, the Church's obligation to mission continues and the Great Commission is its paradigm. As Oscar Cullmann (1965) put it, "the missionary obligation covers the whole time which remains, right down to the unknown final end and each generation must proclaim the Gospel to the 'heathen' of their own day."

[24] The missionary theology of stewardship - stewardship, management and employment of God-given gifts (not merely money) responsibly in supervision of God's household/vineyard, etc. The missionary authority demands responsible management. See my Church Growth and the Word of God, pp. 18-9, 41, 56, 68, 72.

[25] My first systematic attack on this subject was "Anthropology: Luxury or Necessity for Missions?" in the Evangelical Missions Quarterly. This was in 1968 when evangelical missions were not really disposed to listen.

[26] Sevenster, in a recent article "Why Study Church History?" (South East Asia Journal of Theology 15:80-83 1974), formulated his definition of history as "the activity of man to find and choose among facts of the past those meaningful to him" in the present. E.H. Carr, historian, posed the question "What is history?" and went on to answer it as "a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between past and present". That linkage between past and present is common to both definitions. For my own development of this, see "'Contours of Reality' in the History of Mission" (1975a).

[27] Hancock (1968:9) saw history as having an outside of matter and an inside of mind. One has to get into the act by getting into the mind of the agent inside the act.

[28] Fustel de Coulanges, in his inaugural address at Strasbourg in 1862, criticized those historians who projected English and French values into the citizens of Sparta, Athens and Rome. He studied ancient laws, customs, needs, beliefs and institutions in the records of the Greeks, and sought the relations between the beliefs and institutions (de Coulanges 1963:178-190).

[29] The novelist was Anatole France and, from memory, I believe the novel was *Thais*.

[30] Of all the numerous accounts I have read of the adventures of the Spanish Armada, for example, none gripped me more with its dynamism than that in A.E.W. Mason's *Life of Drake*. He was a naval man. He shared the inner quality of experience he was reconstructing.

[31] There was a time when we faculty members of the SWM at Fuller Theological Seminary stimulated each other by presenting papers for critical comment. I once tackled this subject. The paper still survives though I never published it, but the subject is too important to be dropped. Text is in a bound volume at SML.C.

[32] In particular, H. Wheeler Robinson's concept of "Corporate Personality" most nearly captures the perceptual quality of which I write. See his two articles, "The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality" (published in German in 1935) and "The Group and the Individual in Israel" (1964). Paul Minear is another scholar who has given us the concept of the "web of mutuality" in his *Eyes of Faith*.

[33] A number of works by anthropologists and ethnohistorians draw from good source material and indicate that missiologists should work this area from their parallaxis. This is especially so among the American Indians. Perhaps my *People Movements in Southern Polynesia* and chapters 13 and 18 of *Solomon Islands*

Christianity might suggest some lines for further research before the evidence is totally lost.

[34] Another discussion of the basic statistics of this particular case is found in the second edition of my Verdict Theology, pp. 130-132, in which that "Why?" is considered.

[35] I refer to Sapir's brilliant methodological reconstruction of a quite different theme, namely the diffusion of language through time ("Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture," 1916) and reprinted in Mandelbaum's edition of Sapir's essays. It was the term and the notion of a methodology through time that I borrowed. Sapir's ideas of studying linguistic change through time, in his book Language, also stimulated me.

[36] The first church growth graphics were simplistic affairs, simple arithmetic formulations which Ralph Winter soon modified when he joined our company and insisted on semi-logarithmic graphing. However, here we are dealing with a dimension not accurately measured by any graphics I know: namely, conversion growth statistics when conversion in the contact period is just not the same thing as conversion a century later. Over the first hundred years of a mission church, conversion growth is a phenomenologically changing process as well as statistical. That is a challenge for the new era of statisticians.

[37] The data base of this paragraph is found in a manuscript volume at SML.C, "The Growth and Non-Growth of the Church," in chapter 3, entitled "Church Growth and Time Perspective," pp. 43-67.

[38] Prior to meeting McGavran I had researched the large group movement responses to the Gospel in Ono, Viwa, Bau, Kadavu, Vanua Levu and the Viti Levu hill tribes, partly to prove or disprove certain claims by Fiji historians and partly to satisfy myself as to its phenomenology. I had charted the spread of the Gospel over the islands of Fiji but it was more like Winter's "Spread of the Christian Movement" than McGavran's "Church Growth" which came in the 1960s. The statistics and maps are bound at SML.C, SWM.P and elsewhere.

[39] These statistics and the reporting are found in my Bau journal for 1953 in the archives at SML.C, along with a great deal of other information relating to this project. In differentiating these recent conversion experiences from those of TU 3, and even considering the transition from TU 2 to TU 3, I have written on the ethnopsychology of this point in time in a number of papers, some printed and some multigraphed, but bound together at SML.C and other libraries. See also my paper,"The Role of the Catalytic Individual in Group Conversion from Animism" (1976a). The initial paper of the series "Religious Group Conversion in Non-Western Society" was circulated where it was delivered at the Anual Meeting of the American Scientific Affiliation at Stanford University in 1976. Another, from a more theological angle, appeared in Missiology in 1977.

[40] That such communities still exist in the world's mission fields was recognized when a consultation on Frontier Peoples was organized in Chicago in 1973. See The Gospel and Frontier Peoples, R. Pierce Beaver, ed.

[41] He by-passed religion because the missionaries, he said, had changed it from its original form. Magic, however, he researched as he found it. His error was that the religion, though changed, was still operative and he should have researched it. Magic and religion were not changing at the same rate. This strength of Malinowski in magic and weakness in religion was not missed by his students. See Firth (1957:189ff).

[42] "The Growth and Non-Growth of the Church" op. cit., pp. 7-9.

[43] This obstruction comes, not only from boards, but also from field missionaries after pouring personnel and funds into some non-productive project for years. It raises an awkward theological admission about their original entry to that place: was it "under God" or a matter of "human misjudgement"? To abandon a mission always creates some kind of theological crisis.

[44] See my Verdict Theology (1973 edition), p. 105.

[45] "Growth and Non-Growth..." op. cit., pp. 11-15. For a discussion on "humanization" when it came, see my Verdict Theology (1973 edition), pp. 92-114. For M1, M2 and M3, see pp. 37-38.

[46] For example, after I had lived for three years in Kadavu, an area with a highly developed vocabulary of canoe-sailing, with communal institutions associated with building, launching, sailing, and trading, I found I could lose mainland land-lubber Fijians in nautical discussion in their own language. Some anthropologists write of the "efflorescence" of a society, that aspect most extensively elaborated: maybe kinship structure, or economic organization for trade, exchange or some other aspect. In any case, it is demonstrated by a highly complex vocabulary (Firth 1936). Once the observer gets into this he can never again think of that society as simple.

[47] Any idea of a "Group Mind" we reject. Communal groups are multi-individual. This term came into church growth thought from the anthropologist Homer Barnett. For its relation to biblical thinking see my Church Growth and the Word of God , especially pp. 31-33, and People Movements in Southern Polynesia, pp. 85, 199-206, 262, especially p. 199.

[48] Maclaurin in two works Post Mortem and Mere Mortals, published together as De Mortuis. Even though one does not feel disposed to accept all his diagnoses, they are nevertheless a consistent parallaxis.

[49] Hyperbolus, Themistocles and others. Ostracism was a system in which a citizen count was taken by potsherd. A sufficient number against a person earned him exile for a decade. The citizens grouped in tribes for the count. See J.L. Bury, History of Greece, pp. 261-2, 334,462, etc.

[50] The idea of a group leader as the "Representative or Ideal Type" comes from K.S. Latourette (1945:360) who saw men like Bernard of Clairvaux and Francis of Assisi in this role as "the closest person to the accredited standard of the Christian life as seen in the life, teaching and preaching of Jesus". They were regarded

as exemplars of the New Testament ideal of Christian living: personifications of the standards. They also gathered groups of followers who accepted the ideals. The leader of a people movement to (or a cargo cult away from) Christianity is often regarded in this sense, or as prophetic. Cf. Chapter 22 in God, Man and Church Growth, A.R. Tippett, ed., pp. 328-340.

[51] Prestige was a great social value and a person could strive for advancement within the structure, but an overdrive for prestige would bring its own downfall under control of the multi-individual group. See my People Movements in Southern Polynesia, pp. 152-7, where individualism is depicted as approved but controlled.

[52] This was a factor in play in the dynamics of Marching Rule in the Solomons, where one goal of the movement was to secure island magistrates for trying local cases in which Europeans showed little knowledge of custom. See my Soloman Islands, Christianity, p. 207.

[53] The notion of the functional substitute is basic in church growth anthropology. See my Soloman Islands Christianity, p. 401; People Movements in Southern Polynesia pp. 202,250; Fijian Material Culture, pp. 10, 17, 167-72; Peoples of SW Ethiopia, p. 295; Deep Sea Canoe, pp. 100, 106-11; Verdict Theology, pp. 128, 167, 171.

[54] As with any hostile tribe, usually it is only by means of some special mechanism that contact may be made - go-between, herald, cross-cultural trading-partner or the like. See also Van Gennep, Rites of Passage, Chap. 2, "The Territorial Passage".

[55] I visited a non-Christian island off Malaita with an Anglican national priest who was known there by his status, and met by a body of men armed with spears, who demanded to know who I was, or rather "what" I was. I did not have a category and my companion was not sure how to classify me. Having satisfied them that I was not a tax officer, a policeman, an administrative official, an Anglican priest, or a custom-man (anthropologist), I passed as a 'Christian' and was allowed to land. But I was suspect until I left.

[56] Missionary Lamb of Ambrym reconstructed an encounter of parallaxes in a trading deal between a pioneering missionary and an island chief. The account is reported in detail by Belshaw in Changing Melanesia; Social Economics of Culture Contact, pp. 52-53. The case is speculative, but not without real insight.

[57] Missionary policy in Tahiti was one of civilizing rather than evangelizing. The first converts, a small company of men and youths, having become Christian of their own volition formulated their new faith on a basis of what they had seen of missionary religion - to stop the worship of idols, to live orderly and industrious lives, to hold worship services weekly, and to meet for prayer. This was a very different pattern from the people movement pattern which spread through the group shortly afterwards. They codified their new life precisely after the mode of the L.M.S. missionaries.

[58] This came out in the interviews I had with certain young men in Papua New Guinea, who had tried Christianity and found that it did not meet their quite erroneous expectations.

[59] See "A Synchronic Ethnohistorical Reconstruction" in my Aspects of Pacific Ethnohistory, pp. 105-125.

[60] "The Barbados Declaration" under World Council of Churches sponsorship, and its American press coverage was a shocking example of dangerous generalizations about mission, so much so that the evangelical missionary bodies asked me through the editor of the Evangelical Missions Quarterly to deal with the syndicated reporting. See my "Taking a Hard Look at the Barbados Declaration," 1972.

[61] Salsberg wrote his confessions in the magazine section of the Los Angeles Times.

[62] Some of the world's greatest writing, especially religious writing, has come from a parallaxis shift: Morrison's Who Moved the Stone?, Sir William Ramsay on the Resurrection of Christ, Beverly Nicols' The Fool Hath Said, and if you go back further Augustine's Confessions and Paul en route to Damascus.

[63] "Good writing" said Arturo Vivante (1971:9) "is losing one's identity and finding a kinship, a spiritual kinship..."

[64] An interesting confession comes from Cecilia Holland (1971), the historical novelist. She was struggling with a novel about the Mongols and had woven into it an idea which was plausible but not documented. The best she could say was that there was nothing in it which could be shown to be wrong. Then suddenly she realized what she was doing. Unconsciously it was all about her own world. She was projecting her present onto an ancient and cross-cultural past where it did not belong. It is an interesting confession. Many a centenary history reflects this parallax error. Projecting yourself into the situation of another community is not sitting with them in it. If we do not see this we will never understand the problem of parallaxis, let alone come to terms with it.

[65] See my People Movements in Southern Polynesia, pp. 221-226.

[66] It was no accident that Wildfire:Church Growth in Korea by Roy Shearer, New Patterns of Church Growth in Brazil by William Read, Church Growth in West New Guinea, by James Sunda and my own People Movements in Southern Polynesia were produced in the same time and place. They all broke new ground in missiology, they all dealt with the dynamics of conversion, and they all looked forward to a new era in mission.

[67] See Note 12.

[68] See Stott and Coote, The Gospel and Culture, pp. 404-11. See also the process of shifting viewpoints on marriage in my "Shifting Attitudes to Sex and Marriage in Fiji" (1965a).

[69] Some of these were very much closed "in-group" performances, as for example the Investiture of the Tunidau ni Bau at Bau which had not been performed for 45 years and at which I took my place with the social group to which I had been assigned, contributing and sharing according to pattern. See my Aspects of Pacific Ethnohistory, pp. 91-103.

[70] The delicate relationship may be fractured by manifest attitudes. Even one who is fluent with the language may cut himself off by his unconscious behavior, and find himself "not one of us". One may have sympathy but miss out on empathy. There is a selection from Edwin W. Smith on "Empathy" in Ways of the People, No. 63, p. 381, SML.C.

[71] White (1970) describes the experience in an essay "History and Horse Shoe Nails."

[72] Aldous Huxley's essay on "Beliefs" in his Collected Essays, p. 368.

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MISSIONARIES AND THE PERCEPTION OF EVIL[1]

BY KENELM BURRIDGE

The topic at issue in this paper is conveniently evoked by citing a passage from the general instruction to missionaries issued by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1659.

> "Do not regard it as your task, and do not bring any pressure to bear on the peoples, to change their manners, customs, and uses, unless they are evidently contrary to religion and sound morals. What could be more absurd than to transport France, Spain, Italy, or some other European country to China? Do not introduce all that to them, but only the faith, which does not despise or destroy the manners and customs of any people, always supposing they are not evil, but rather wishes to see them preserved unharmed (emphases provided)."[2]

The passage continues with a summary of the ills and injuries attendant on the attempt to change a people's culture. The argument here is that while many missionaries both before and since 1659 have striven to follow the spirit of the general instruction, whether or not they have been aware of it, and others, both Catholic and Protestant, have done their explicit contrary best, perceptions of evil, related as they are to a given "religion and sound morals", even the score. Whatever the intentions about socio-cultural change or stability, perceptions of evil and notions on sound morals inevitably bring about change.

From our own standpoint today in the permissive society it is often difficult to conceptualize or imagine what evil was or is, meant or means, or how it is related to sin, the forgiveness of sins, or that 'Christ died for us so that sins may be forgiven.' Evil is no longer, as it used to be, self-evident. Sickness or misfortune and sin are no longer equated. Generally, as an offence against the Godhead, others, a defect of the good, and damaging to oneself, sin belongs to an age lacking in specialists in mental and emotional disorders. Evil tends to be cancer, nuclear weaponry, a monster with fangs and shaggy hair, "them", and perhaps poverty in cities, but not necessarily drunken driving, the mining disaster, confrontation, the invitation to violence, or killing with so-called 'conventional' weapons. Where things seem to be beyond control, as in the bureaucracy, or outside the effects of voting, there evil tends to be identified. But where things tend to be generally controllable there are misdemeanor, accident, carelessness, emotional problems, and mistakes. Generally, evil has to be invented in books and movies, and is not a feature of real life, our lives. In the late- and post-industrial ambience sin seems an anachronism, and the identification of evil and its sources contingent on position within an available socio-politico-economic spectrum, from which the moralities are derived.

Historically, though, evil was self-evident, palpable, suffered daily, and identifiable in a myriad aspects. If the evils of civilized society, whether in Europe or Asia, had much in common, first experiences with the nonliterate or subsistence[3] communities of the Americas, Africa, Oceania, and parts of Asia provided missionaries with an entirely new and different set of problems. There was not, nor could there be, a consensus regarding which particular acts or institutions should be described as evil, either among missionaries themselves or as between missionaries and peoples being evangelized. While some missionaries of whatever denomination with a fundamentalist or puritan cast of mind were wont (as many still do) to identify evil or, as will be appreciated presently, forms of disorder or unacceptable order in almost every aspect of subsistence or nonliterate life, others have been more aware of the social and cultural complexities involved.

If the Hindu caste system and the doctrine of the transmigration of souls posed questions of eschatology and how far a perceived evil, for example, was acceptable in the circumstances, insurmountable in any case, or a part of life in the world as the Creator created it, there were at least grounds for discussion in relation to, say, ethics, the state of the soul, or even another kind of society. The subsistence community provided no such grounds for discussion. Further, everything that was thought to be known about them seemed to indicate an addiction to evil (or their own forms of order) that could only be eradicated by force. It is to Las Casas' lasting credit that as a missionary so early in the encounter he should see in subsistence communities what no one else saw: human beings like himself, open to Christian enlightenment, equally children of God, not brutes born to be slaves.[4]

Nevertheless, Las Casas was in his time, as he remains, an exception both as a missionary and as a man. Even today, notwithstanding prior indoctrination and the vast literature to the contrary, first experiences of a strange culture entail mild or more acute paranoid emotions, easily translatable into forms of evil. Pickpockets surely abound, the taximan will cheat you, beware the smiling face about to take you for a ride. One looks desperately for the known and familiar. Following upon Mary Douglas' brilliant work[5] it has now become almost a commonplace in anthropology that the strange or unfamiliar, or that which does not fit into the culturally prescribed categories of classification or expectation, the anomaly, will be classed as either sacred, or evil, or both together -- something to be worshipped, or placated, or avoided or shunned. And missionaries neither were nor are immune from this generally human proclivity. Yet it was not missionaries or, necessarily, churchgoers, but ordinary folk, whose categories of classification and expectation were offended, who greeted the first long-haired males of the 'sixties with exclamations of the devil's work or evil abroad. Socio-cultural changes which are disapproved, particularly changes in category and classification, are generally regarded as evil.

Whether missionaries in the years before the industrial revolution were more or less prone to the proclivity may, however, fairly be doubted. The accounts of Las Casas, Sagard, Lafitau, and Serra, for example, appear to be balanced and fair. Voltaire's Huron seems to have been a response to Caliban and popular conception rather than missionary accounts. Although missionaries did not think the Hurons as civilized as Voltaire made his Huron -- for after all, they had lived with the Hurons while Voltaire had not -- they certainly did not think of them as brutes. As the Napoleonic wars came to an end, however, as the industrial revolution began to take effect, European civilization was not appreciated as on the same footing as others. It had advanced beyond agriculture and was superior. And although missionaries generally shared this view they did not, later, with the advent of social Darwinism, subscribe to the idea that the 'inferior' peoples of the world would inevitably remain so. On the contrary, the missionary doctrine was that all were teachable and could, in time, reach equivalent heights. Still, throughout the nineteenth century and into the present, progress, trade, and industrialization were 'good'; the rural scene overseas tended to be 'wretched' or 'miserable,' at best 'simple'; the 'primitive' was bad,' and superstition, magic, taboo, nakedness, and other savage customs -- impediments to progress, trade, and industrialization -- were generally described as 'evil.'

Evil is not, however, simply a question of relative culture values, nor 'just' or 'merely' a matter of inadequate classification or offended expectations. For although Christianity from Augustine (from Plato) through

Aquinas to the present has consistently defined evil as the privation of some good which should be there, the notion of evil as something palpable, 'out there', remains a popular, general and folk conception without necessarily adhering to a form of manichean dualism. And a variety of reasons and experiences could be adduced to account for it: personification of the devil, out there; the belief in evil spirits, servants of the devil; the way in which evil grows and spreads, like a cancer or epidemic disease; occurrences such as the Manson murders or the tragedy at Jonestown; the ways in which disaster, misfortune, and sickness strike without warning.... In the permissive no less than in the morally rigorous society the evil that is suddenly manifest must surely have come from the outside, the work of Satan or Ahriman or their minions perhaps, but certainly nothing to do with oneself or one's life-style even though it may have been incubated by the resentments of others within the interactional community. Despite the anthropology, evil is generally perceived as an existent beyond the residual category. Resisting the theology, Christians and among them many missionaries cannot but participate in both poles of the dichotomy, which must be pursued.

Following Errol E. Harris who aligns himself with Augustine and Aquinas,[6] "...good is the realization and fulfillment in practice of our rational capacities through self-conscious nature, and evil is whatever militates against such self-fulfillment." Further, "... evil is incident upon finiteness, the characteristic of the partial and inadequate, or, as we naturally say, it is defect,"[7] not a "positive entity or process."[8] And, "...evil is an actuality. It exists and is, in an important sense, real; but only as an incident to finitude. It is only the finite that experiences evil, and to the extent that the finite is transcended, evil evaporates and vanishes."[9] And finally, within terms of the systems of dialectics that make up our world, "All the forms and degrees of finitude...are essential and indispensable to the being and realization of the ultimate perfection. For it realizes itself through them and realizes their potentialities in itself. And evil, as the incident of finitude, is precisely what is being progressively overcome in the course of that realization. It is both necessary to it and is transformed by it."[10]

In short, the good is the more perfectly realized as it overcomes or transcends its own privation or defect. *But this does not mean that an identified evil* should be tolerated, nor that an act evil in itself should be tolerated for the good that may eventually result from it. On the contrary, it means that the identified evil should be faced, overcome, transformed, or transcended. Evil may be systematically exercised or implemented but, because to do so not only merely systematizes defect or privation but denies the reality of the good in the Godhead, for the religiously minded purposely doing evil is fundamentally nonrational, an insanity.

Leaving aside the doctrine of Original Sin, which teaches that evil is inherently in man though overcome in and through Christ, whether evil resides only in the person, in the human soul, and therefore cannot be overcome by any form of social organization or arrangement of structures, or is more properly and usefully located in the latter, is a perennial problem. But for missionaries it is a false one. For if in the literate and moneyed community evils are probably as often generated by persons, people, as by structures, while for the members of a nonliterate subsistence community without money -- where the structures are given, bequeathed by the ancestors, sacrosanct in tradition -- evils are generally located in persons although actually caused by the structures, the practical assumption must be that evil is generated both by persons and structures. Both must be worked at, with firmness as well as in Christian love. Whether in spite of or because of the structures which compass them, in every culture there are men and women who are, for practical purposes, evilly disposed.

To locate evil in the 'system', in culture or the social order, is a variant of the notion of evil as something palpable, 'out there.' Not, to be sure, necessarily something demonic slinking about in the undergrowth, awaiting its chance, but certainly not intrinsic to ourselves, in thrall as we are to the systems we create. And to locate evil in the relativity of cultural values, in inadequate classifications or offended cultural expectations, is again to locate evil in culture, in the system. So it is that, in most of the world's religions, he or she who would aspire to the good and holy should leave evil behind by renouncing the socio-cultural order which works against the aspirations. This Christianity, by and large, disputes: the finite, whether in men's hearts or in culture, is there to be overcome, transformed, or transcended, not abandoned for the hermitage or mountain retreat.

To cope with such problems, a missionary in the field, particularly in a first encounter with a subsistence community, requires not only great faith but confidence in the civilizational values and all the self-assurance provided by the industrial revolution. In fact of course the apprehension of evil in the field is, as it was, much more direct and goes, as it went, to particular institutions (the parts of culture) rather than to persons and souls. Witchcraft, sorcery, magic, taboo, forms of cannibalism, certain dances and ceremonials, feasting, the 'buying of women as wives,' the treatment of women generally, and polygyny among many usages were all considered sources of evil when not evil in themselves, or undesirable or inadequate to the future. The iconography of a nonliterate community seemed nowhere to convey an idea of the sublime. Unlike representations of the Buddha, for example, whose impact was immediate, subsistence community paintings, carvings, and sculptures required much looking, contemplation in relation to cultural values, and the effort of allowing oneself to be looked at by them, for appreciation to grow. And few were willing to give the time.

Phrases such as 'in darkness,' 'unenlightened,' 'ignorant,' so often taken today by the liberal secular to be pejorative, insulting, and patronizing, but in former times regarded by most, including the most liberal Liberals, as more or less self-evident, certainly went to institutions. The phrases were protective of the person, platforms from which elementary teaching and then higher education could take departure. As soon as it was thought that the teaching had been digested, however, the onus of responsibility was on the person, not on the institution. The maxim for the process, suggesting the difficulties involved, was mirrored by Carl Jung when he wrote, in speaking of evil, sin, and punishment, "Before the bar of nature and fate, unconsciousness is never accepted as an excuse; on the contrary there are very severe penalties for it. Hence all unconscious nature longs for the light of consciousness while frantically struggling against it at the same time."[11] In attempting through teaching to evolve a new or different consciousness, missionaries knew as they presently know that an old consciousness has to be superseded.

Conversion to Christianity entails, precisely, a new consciousness. But since the old consciousness was contained in and maintained and renewed by the traditional institutions, the latter had to go or be considerably modified if the new consciousness was to have a viable ambience of action. And behind a people's reluctance to modify or abandon their traditions and institutions, one can see not only Jung's "struggle" against the light of a new consciousness but that determination not to give up an identity bequeathed by the ancestors, an identity which contradicts the new consciousness.

Speaking to or attempting to modify or extirpate the perceived evils of a culture necessarily entails another kind of culture, a new culture, a different social order, a new consciousness. If some missionaries have appeared to the secular mind to have had an unhealthy or obsessional view of the evils in a culture, several points -- which do not necessarily excuse the obsession -- have to be borne in mind. For although it seems cruel and unnecessary to inform people, rightly proud of a culture inherited from worthy ancestors, that they are set in evil ways, or in ways that could be bettered, or in ways inadequate to a future pressing hard on them, the end result would be much the same: each of the alternatives speaks to change. Of course there are offensive and more diplomatic or kindly ways of going about the business: which tends to catch a missionary between the accusations of iconoclasm on the one hand and enticement on the other. Looking to further options, enclosure as a human zoo or living museum is entirely distasteful and immoral as well as impractible. Leaving a people alone -- but open to the depredations of the unscrupulous -- is also immoral. And where governments would have to impose at the taxpayers great expense, a missionary can do no other than attempt to persuade at private expense. Most important of all, though, are the people themselves and what they might want of the encounter.

In the first instance there have been either natural objection and hostility toward the intruder trespassing on their territory, or natural curiosity as to what the stranger is, has, or portends. Second thoughts, however, focus as greedily as any merchant in his shop in Europe or Asia or North Africa on the goods the stranger has on his person or in his baggage train, canoe, or ship. They will bring status, wealth, and perhaps -- though it matters but little at the time -- make life easier. There is, too, the almost irresistible temptation to power and dominance over others. The corruption begins. Everything that follows is an attempt to develop and exploit, or alternatively overcome, this initial corruption, this privation of the good that ought to be there. What is at issue is not simply the words used to describe the institutions of another culture -- just so, inadequate rather than evil, efficient in the circumstances, and so on -- though they may sugar the pill, but how to deal with the spawn of the original corruption in the light of one's own motives and temptations. Prospero to Caliban.

To the question whether, in an imperfect world, there are any goods or evils, virtues or vices, that might be regarded for practical purposes as absolutes, the average Christian, like his agnostic companion, would probably hesitate and then recollect that without the idea of absolutes all relationships must turn upon power, dominance, and advantage in the circumstances. Most missionaries, professional Christians, would respond otherwise: of course there are absolutes. But the action would be more circumspect, pegging away at the realization of virtues and the good while trying to remember that evil is privation, not a cultural absolute at any time, but nonetheless incubated in particular institutions.

Strictly, the anthropological stance of moral relativism is ethically vapid. But it has been useful. We know now, for example, that bridewealth payments, once seen as the evil of buying and selling women as wives, actually provided a woman with status and protection. It might in particular circumstances be inadequate to the future, but was surely not evil. Whether the usage was, or is, the privation of good, working less for the realization of a good than some other practice, remains debatable. Or again, an anthropologist may determine that in Papua New Guinea sorcery is the right arm of egalitarianism and is the main sanction on deviant and immoral behavior. On the other hand, since the people themselves experience sorcery as evil, and regard the sorcerer as evil, and at the same time look upon sorcery and the sorcerer as inevitable, it is surely permissible not only to move against sorcery and the sorcerer but also to attempt to change the institutions and structures which incubate the mode of thought or mind-set that considers sorcery and the sorcerer as inevitable. But doing so entails movement against other institutions which support sorcery. And failing the introduction of substitutes, successful movement removes the main sanction on immoral behavior.

If an outsider or an anthropologist can afford to leave such problems alone, at best writing about them, a missionary has to live with them, deal with them in a practical way. Witchcraft, occurring as it does within particular social relationships in relatively closed groups, is a fact of life in a subsistence community. And since the victim of witchcraft is generally considered to have at least partially provoked the witch, both are in principle equally guilty and equally innocent. Still, before witchcraft can be tagged with a label available in the lexicon of psychology, participants must abandon the magical mode of thought which sustains witchcraft as an institution and attempt some movement out of the relatively closed community into the relatively open. Desdemona may forgive and find fault in herself, and Othello consider himself the true villain. But if we try to look further than Iago as the source of the tragedy and compound of evils -- which in a subsistence community would be seen as a mixture of both sorcery and witchcraft -- we surely have to go beyond circumstances and culture and look into the souls of those who would not or could not overcome or transcend them. And this is what missionaries primarily attempt to do, sometimes grossly, sometimes more subtly. The anathema is acquiescing to given socio-cultural demands.

Successful Christianization of a nonliterate subsistence community usually results in cultural depletion. The community seems singularly streamlined, without color, work-addicted, cheerful perhaps, but lacking in that presentation of interest which engages the sojourner and anthropologist alike. And the swift judgement that the cultural depletion is the result of missionary activity is an easy one. But it would be only partially correct. It is modernization, the movement from subsistence to complex conditions, not necessarily Christianity that depletes the rural community.

Modernization concentrates the modes of cultural expression into the urban centres and leaves the peripheries bereft. The popular conception of urban centres as places where evil and the vices are most manifest is not wrong. For where there is evil culture effloresces. As far as Christianity aligns itself with modernization, thus far will culture be depleted. And so far as Christians or missionaries seek to remove the causes of rather than transcend evil, again so far will culture lose its color and assume a uniform greyness. In puritanism, Christianity tends to reject culture because it is the source of evils. Other attitudes, appreciating culture as divinely created to be humankind's communicative medium with each other and God, welcome the good in culture and address themselves to transcending the evil.

So far, purposeful attempts to put variety back into the culturally depleted community have not been resoundingly successful. Where cultural expressions have maintained themselves or grown up in combination with Christianity -- as in Mediterranean Europe or in Central America, for example -- both Christians and secular modernizers have found grounds for criticism. On the one hand, 'true' Christianity seems scarcely visible under the load of 'superstition', cults of local saints, the colorful display in procession of icons, complex ceremonial and ostentation, market fairs, and the buying and selling of relics and 'holy' artifacts. On the other hand, rather than the more obvious isolation from the mainstreams of modernization and development projects, it is Christianity, a favorite whipping-horse, that tends to be blamed as the conservative feature blocking and preventing modernization.

It will be clear from what has been said that, otherwise deservedly or not, because of their Christianity missionaries are bound to be criticized or blamed by the secular community, thus reinforcing the given image of the destructive missionary. Yet it would be difficult to imagine what would or might have happened had there been no missionaries. The historical record shows that expanding civilizations are wont to destroy, enslave, or at best incorporate as second-class citizens the peoples they encounter and overrun. Nor has European civilization been exempt from this pattern. But missionaries have cushioned the impact, stood between government and subject peoples, been foremost in critique of the former, and led the way in documenting their cultures. Had it not been for missionaries, their example, work, and endeavour, many a culture would have entirely disappeared. Still, in the present context it is the original corruption that matters. In light of it Pelagius would have been hard put to defend himself without declaring the empirical experience void. Even if most are good, some are not. In any case, because the relationship between Prospero and Caliban is inherently intractable but must be maintained, evil breeds evil.

When missionaries describe a people as presently or formerly being 'devil worshippers' they use a phrase which, bruising or thrilling though it may be to the secular public, describes very forcibly the general conditions of culture. For bereft of the impact of the great world religions, culture grows out of and thrives on warding off evils as it creates them. Here and there among the vast number of subsistence communities that have existed one may find indications of an idea of the sublime to which the human being might aspire. But whether or not an idea of the sublime is in fact available, the vast majority of men and women spend most of their waking hours warding off or placating by means of rituals and medicines, evils of one kind or another. And this is what missionaries, alerted to the fact, are apt to appreciate more keenly than others.

From Paul Ricoeur[12] we learn that the most archaic symbolization of evil is in the apprehension of defilement. And it might be added that perhaps the most elementary occasion for that apprehension is the presence of someone else. Overcoming the effects of the apprehension makes the joys and anxieties of community possible, and entails *transferring most of the apprehension on to* the exterior environment. But a part remains. Other people constitute a danger, an evil, and the renunciation of culture and community would set aside the basic obstacles to union with the Divine. Christianity, however, moved to embrace the world of culture: not so much the rejection of evil as the overcoming and transforming and transcending of evil; not a bewareness of others but union with the Divine through a total awareness of others. The basic Christian doctrine of reconciliation in Christ through one's fellows, besides insisting on both culture and community, urges that the apprehension of danger or evil in others be not only overcome and transformed but, through love, made the vehicle of union with the Divine.

From the most archaic symbolization of evil to sin and guilt. And here Christianity finds itself in some trouble, especially where missionaries are concerned. The goal of reconciliation through others is explicit, but the path thorny, beset by difficulties not only in oneself but in the ordinary daily conduct of social relationships. Attempting to resolve these difficulties in ways that run counter to God's will is, generally, sin, and with a self-conscious awareness of what sin is comes a load of guilt which, unless satisfactorily dealt with, occasions more difficulties and further sins. The different denominations deal with sin in different ways: from Catholics, who are made familiar with a longish list of itemized sins, and whose consciences are trained through regular confession (which also deals with guilts to some extent), to more fundamentalist denominations which, while itemizing major sins or wrongful ways, put the whole weight on the private conscience without explicit means for dealing with guilts. From one end of the scale to the other, however, conscience is located in the soul or person. And except in so far as it must be nourished and developed through exterior agents or sources, it is formally independent of, and stricter and more comprehensive than, the exterior constraints and sanctions of the community.

Movement into the Christian view from one which the moralities depend on self-restraint in relation to restraints and sanctions exerted externally by structures as well as by others; in which there are wrongdoings rather than sins; and where wrongdoing itself is defined by others, exteriorly, so that what nobody knows about cannot be a wrongdoing unless and until it comes to the notice of others, common in subsistence communities and certainly not absent in literate and moneyed communities, is not necessarily achieved with formal conversion. On the contrary, the transition from one to the other usually entails not a reinforcement of exterior sanctions by conscience but, more often, a relaxation of the exterior sanctions accompanied by an uncaring and even contumacious regard for them before the interior conscience has been sufficiently nourished and developed. Hence the commonly held secular opinion that missionaries 'teach people to steal.'

Further, while life in the subsistence community hardly requires a conscience -- the sharp eyes and critical proclivities of kin, friends, and neighbors make sure of that -- without informers, secret police and the rest, life in the open and civilized society depends upon well-developed consciences. Without conscience, and without informers and secret police, life in the open society tends to disorder, the breeding ground of evils. Hence again the secular view -- as the subsistence community moves into the ambience of the monied and literate open society -- that missionaries 'teach' people to become criminals. Hence too the necessity for informers and secret police in social orders where religion, and so the positive nourishing of conscience, is forbidden.

In the perfect social order, where all was perfectly ordered, where there were no residual categories, everything in place, and where each self-conscious nature might reach self-fulfillment without privation, evil, if it were apprehended at all, would not be much of a problem. Disorder and privation are virtually equivalent. Where there is disorder, privation and evil also exist. In spending so much of their time warding off evil, or in placating malicious or evil beings, people are also attempting to deny disorder and seeking order, the good being secreted in the latter, and evil in the former. They are, in other words, maintaining culture and the social order of their communities.

Whatever the form of order or disorder that happened to exist before a missionary's arrival on the scene, however, manifestations of disorder or further disorder must follow soon after. Which means that occasions for evil are seen to increase. From the beginning, what a missionary says and does is confusing, creating disorder. The stranger intrudes not only with artifacts and the promise of more of them, but with news and a message that might be shrugged off as too perplexing did they not seem to be in some way linked to the artifacts. The last seems fairly straightforward. But the message, the teaching, are puzzling. Nor is there any necessary certainty even after careful instruction in the faith. After all, even the disciples didn't try it until long after. Without specific cultural supports, spelling exterior constraints, the confusion in the mind tends to become worse confounded. Only the certainties to be obtained through a true metanoia -- that change or even reversal of heart and mind which includes a realization of the nature of love -- may hold the disorder, and so evil, at bay.

On the whole, though, most peoples are wonderfully adaptive. Given a reasonably benign and supportive secular government or administration, an inherent common sense gains the day and things jog along fairly comfortably. Some parts of the cultural heritage are generally retained in slightly changed form, others may be revived. Europeanisms and innovations enter in, a general movement towards secularization takes place, a balance between conscience and exterior constraints is usually maintained. On the other hand, if the administration is inconsistent, initiating projects and then abandoning them, and if, in addition, economic and social relations with the wider community are erratic, then activities of a millennial kind are likely. And these activities, it should be remembered, seek very precisely the sorts of closely textured social order in which evils may be more exactly identified.

There is much more that could be said on the subject. But I hope the point has been made. Contact with the other necessarily qualifies former integrities and, a relationship effected, socio-cultural changes must occur. In the first instance people look to advantage, status, and power. Then, because people in general are moral only ultimately, comes a sorting of appropriate from inappropriate, good from evil. Missionaries, however, are overtly and explicitly communicators not only of the spiritual but of the moral. New moral discriminations related to new integrities -- a proper ambience for the nurture of the spiritual -- are their most immediate tasks. Reconciliation in Christ through one's fellows is only possible by dying to oneself. And whatever else oneself may be, the culture of nurture is a constituent: 'dying to oneself' necessarily involves dying to at least some of the parts of a culture that was.

Realizing the good in itself is everywhere notoriously difficult. It is secreted in the order which makes palpable the ideals on which it is based. Individuals may then take their particular departures. But an order is also necessarily dependent on prohibitions, effectively the identification of evils, the marking out of those activities which are liable to bring about disorder and destroy the harmony in community relationships. And it is to these privations of the good that missionaries, being primarily moral, most naturally turn. In doing so they -- as would a physician seeking to extirpate the evil of disease, or a development official intent on abolishing waste -- necessarily generate change. Christianity is awkward in these respects: it involves a new consciousness which is never static in itself; it always makes for changes in the socio-cultural ambience.

NOTES

[1] A version of this essay was originally presented at the XIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, August 1983.

[2] Taken from Stephen Neill, A History of Christian Missions. Pelican Books, London, 1971, p. 179.

[3] The terms subsistence and nonliterate are here used more or less synonymously, as are complex and civilized. Subsistence and complex refer to two opposed models of community, the first being characterized by rigorous and relatively closed moralities, an elementary division of labor based upon age and sex, no true market or free use of money, and the second being characterized by open moralities, a complex division of labor, markets, and money. See Kenelm Burridge, Someone, No One, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1979, pp. 92-102.

[4] See L. Hanke, Aristotle and The American Indians, Hollis and Carter, London, 1949, pp. 14-15, 112-113.

[5] Mary Douglas, Purity and Danger, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1966; Natural Symbols, Pantheon Books, New York, 1970.

[6] Errol E. Harris, The Problem of Evil, The Aquinas Lecture, Marquette University Publications, Milwaukee, 1977, pp. 15-16.

[7] Op. cit. p. 31.

[8] Op. cit. p. 32.

[9] Op. cit. p. 38.

[10] Op. cit. p. 37.

[11] C.G. Jung, Answer to Job, (trans. by R.F.C. Hull), Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1954, p. 162.

[12] Paul Ricoeur, The Symbolism of Evil, (trans. by Emerson Buchanan), Harper & Row, New York, 1967, pp. 25-46.

[13] Op. cit. p. 47-150.

INCULTURATION AND EVANGELISATION: REALISM OR ROMANTICISM.

GERALD A. ARBUCKLE

Anthropologists and theologians have rarely come together to share their different professional insights. There have been faults on both sides.[1] But one senses a growing openness. For example, the former Cambridge Professor of Social Anthropology, Meyer Fortes, recently wrote a preface, entitled "Anthropologists and Theologians: Common Interests and Divergent Approaches," to a book on sacrifice in which theologians and anthropologists share ideas on this ever-fascinating topic. In this preface, Fortes draws attention to the fact that Tylor, writing at a time when science and theology were locked in bitter controversy, nonetheless called for co-operation between anthropologists and theologians.[2]

To encourage further this positive interaction, it is timely to reflect on the changing attitudes of Roman Catholic leaders and theologians to what anthropologists commonly understand by culture or cultures. In the first half of this century, for example, expressions like "adaptation to culture", "indigenization", "accommodation", became common in official documents on the role of the Church in the so-called mission lands or in theological commentaries on the role of missionaries in alien cultures. But, in very recent years, new expressions have evolved. For example, one now hears such expressions as "contextualization", "incarnational pluralism", "cultural liberation" and finally "inculturation".

In order to understand better why these expressions developed, I plan to trace briefly the historical relationship between the Catholic Church's teachings and culture(s). The expressions noted above do not quite convey the same meanings in all instances. In fact, there is quite a dramatic difference in meaning between "adaptation to culture" and the comtemporary term "inculturation". Why this change in meaning? In the centuries up to Vatican II, the belief systems defining the Church's relationship with culture or cultures evolved gradually. But after Vatican II the change in emphasis in the belief system has been quite dramatic, and the consequences of this are still far from clear. Anthropologists, anxious to study the impact of the Church within Latin America, Asia, Pacific Islands, and even Europe, must now become sensitive to the nature of the new belief system, even though it has been very unevenly accepted by theologians and practitioners. Anthropologists must be puzzled by the fact that priests and nuns no longer dress according to what were once very identifiable styles; there must also be surprise to discover priests and nuns, in the name of inculturation, becoming involved in underground political and guerrilla movements in sections of the Third World. Liturgies, once considered for centuries open to no change, were subjected to frequent changes after Vatican II on the assumption that they had to be "culturally relevant".[3]

EARLY CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE

As Christianity emerged from within Judaism, several modes of acting can be distinguished. One notices immediately examples of functional substitution. For example, within the New Testament we find Jesus preaching in the synagogue, showing himself a good Jew who frequented the temple, but at the same time he is seen as using traditional religious customs but endowing them with new meanings, e.g., at the Last Supper.[4] This approach was followed through by the apostles; the use of Judaic forms, accompanied by vigorous efforts to give them new meaning, new orientation. But when it came to relating to Gentiles, the situation changed somewhat. A clear distinction had to be made between what was of Jewish culture and what was of the new faith. As one commentator notes: "It was not merely a question of abating the rigor of the law for the Gentiles; it was rather a question of principle."[5] This is evident in what looks at first like a culture clash gathering in Jerusalem, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles (15:7-11). The religio-cultural demands of circumcision and the following of the law of Moses were considered to be not part of the new faith. However, there was to be no compromise as regards ritual. Baptism and the breaking of bread, the reading of the scriptures, were to be received unchanged by non-Jews. It was only in the fourth century that the Christian liturgy would be open to changes, under certain conditions, from what was considered to be good and noble in pagan religions.[6]

Once Christianity found itself outside Jewish influence, it was forced, however, to face the situation more positively. This came about not as a result of any special theological reflection, but because new circumstances had to be faced; missionaries had to relate to people who were not Jews or who were not pagans living close to Jewish communities and thus in some way aware of Jewish religious practices or symbols. If the faith was to be understood, then it had to be explained in the language and in the symbols familiar to the people. But, at the same time, there could be no adaptation to cultural aspects that in any way reflected pagan religion or worship. Hence, there are strong condemnations of pagan rituals by leading writers like Justin the Martyr and Tertullian.[7] But, in relating to cultural forms other than religion the approach was different. There was more openness, more accommodation. For example, Tertullian, the lawyer, uses Roman juridical language within the explanation of Christian baptism; it is presented as the breaking of a contract with the world and its values, and the entry into a new contract with God in Christ. In this way, Tertullian explains what baptismal renunciation and the profession of faith in Jesus is all about. And his listeners would have understood this. Ambrose of Milan explained the use of anointing in the baptismal rite as a symbol of strength-giving power. This would easily have been grasped by the listeners for oil was well known in Roman culture as a source of physical strength for athletes.[8] But, the use of cultural symbols already familiar to the people being evangelized had to be explained from a Christian point of view. They could not be left to speak for themselves, for fear that syncretism would enter into daily life. Hence, missionaries developed lengthy periods of instruction for converts.

ROMAN CULTURE INFLUENCES CHRISTIANITY

With the peace of Constantine (306-338 AD), the Church entered a period of violent theological debate, when the very definition of dogma was placed in doubt. But at the same time the Church went out to embrace all within the then civilized world. Constantine himself felt obliged, even called by God, to direct all peoples towards what he considered to be the true religion. His court theologians even considered him to have a kind of episcopal power over the whole Empire, to be a new Moses, a new David, at the head of the true Israel, of the New Covenant. The Church so embraced the imperial culture that aspects of the impact remain within the Roman Church to this day. Bishops acquired the accoutrements of the royalty of period, so that the pastor among his people was replaced by the ruler over his people. Worship left the homes and entered the basilica. A community which had rejoiced in one priest, Jesus Christ, one altar, Jesus Christ and one temple, the community of worshippers, was transformed as bishop, priests and deacons presided over re-conditioned pagan temples somewhat in the way the high priest, priests and levites had possessed the Jewish temple. The sixth-century Sacramentary of Verona, which still forms the foundation of many liturgical prayers in the Roman Church, introduced notions of rank, honor and dignity into the rite of ordination, and together with that, the notion of promotion through these stages. Ministry thus came to be described in terms of an ecclesiastical career, comparable with the stages of a Roman political career, each rank having its corresponding honors and dignity.[9]

Particularly during the fourth century, Roman legalism had a deep impact on Christianity. During the fourth century, bishops were given the right to act as judges in civil suits, and their decisions had legal force. As judges they acted in the name of the emperor, as bishops they stood in the place of God. Consequently, sin - which had earlier been thought of as a fracturing of the relationship of love and trust between members of the community, and as a violation of the covenant relationship between the community and God - was increasingly seen in legal terms, as a breaking of a divine law or the violation of an ecclesiastical law. In a similar way, repentance - which had originally been understood as reconversion, a change of heart that was needed to re-establish the relationship - was regarded more and more as a penalty imposed for violating the law. Long and severe penances were often seen in the same light as criminal sentences: they were needed to satisfy the demands of the law, to expiate or pay for the offense committed, to fulfill the requirements of divine justice.[10]

One could go on giving more examples. But the important point is that Christianity received into itself - often with little critical reflection - symbols, cultural expressions current at the time. They in fact became so imbedded in Christian life that many aspects deeply affected subsequent relationships with other cultures, even to the present day. With the vigorous support of the secular power, Christianity felt more confident in reacting to pagan cultures. This confidence expressed itself in two ways. First, there was the forceful removal of traditional cultural festivals and the establishment in their place of Christian festivals. Christmas, the celebration of the birth of the "true Sun of Justice", replaced the feast of the birth of the sun-god in Mithraic religion.[11] The festival of the Chair of St. Peter on February 22 took the place of the Roman caristia or cara cognatio, which was a commemoration of the dead ancestors whose authority was represented by their chairs. The second method of approach was through deliberate functional substitution. That is, various rituals and gestures were taken over and given Christian meanings. The Arabic and Ethiopian versions of the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus instructed the people being baptized to face the East as they profess faith in the Holy Trinity. The Christian tradition of praying toward the East and of orienting churches toward it flows from a similar custom in solar religions.[12] When such customs were brought into the liturgy of the Church, they were designed to support or lead to the central mystery of the celebration. In other words, they were designed to be supportive symbols of the main liturgical act. The process of functional substitution was not necessarily consciously thought through. Rather, the enthusiasm of the missionaries for their work would have led somewhat naturally to experimentation. Problems were to emerge later when the Christian teaching had become so identified with customs of a particular cultural time and place that it became difficult to discover just what were in fact the essentials of the original teaching.

PERIODS OF FLEXIBILITY AND INFLEXIBILITY

But the flexibility was still strong at the time of the great Christian evangelizers, such as SS Boniface, Cyril, Methodius, and Augustine of England. In particular, we see this flexibility evident in the pastoral approach of Gregory the Great. With Gregory, we enter the strictly medieval period of the Church's history. Faced by the barbarians, the Church was the only organized force still able to embody the terrestrial city; it was the Church that had to take the place of the crumbling secular power of Rome. Sacral Christianity enters the scene; the Church took on itself a role of director or administrator in society, assuming the place and duties as it were of a priest-king. Despite the administrative pressures, however, Gregory crystallized in his writings the direction that missionaries had to follow when meeting pagan cultures and religions.[13] To Abbot Mellitus, a fellow missionary of St. Augustine of Canterbury, Gregory set out gently and sympathetically the directive of what today we call functional substitution: "Tell Augustine not to destroy the temples of the gods, but only the idols housed therein. Tell him to purify the temples with holy water and then to set up altars and place relics of the Saints (into those same temples)...The people will see that their places of worship have not been destroyed and will, therefore, be more inclined to renounce their error and recognize and adore the true God for the places to which they will come will be familiar to them and highly valued..."[14] Under Gregory we also see the Church vigorously assuming greater responsibility for education. During what is called the Patristic period a close symbiosis had been established between Christianity and classical culture. As long as something of the latter survived, the Church continued to profit from it. Gaulish bishops willingly recruited from senatorial families, the last to have kept alive a love of learning. But after the disappearance of teaching institutions, when this tradition itself grew dangerously weak and threatened to die, the Church had to act. Taking the place of the waning temporal power, it assumed responsibility for education, without which the recruitment of competent clergy would have become endangered, and with it Christian life itself. At the beginning of the sixth century the episcopal school - the nucleus from which our universities were later to develop - appeared. In the West the new civilization rose and organized itself around the Church in answer to the Church's needs, as these appeared at the end of the barbarian anarchy. The new thrust went beyond the intellectual pursuits; art itself received a considerable boost as a medium for religious and human expression.[15]

This story of how the Church and theology adjusted to Greeks, Romans, Celts, and Germans is a matter of general knowledge. Opinions may differ as to whether the Church, in the course of this historical symbiosis, made illegitimate concessions or whether it transformed these cultures and assimilated them and hence was justified in expressing itself and communicating itself through them. I am inclined to the view that both reactions took place. But as regards theology at least, it may be safely said that Plato and Aristotle, for instance, were criticized in the light of biblical truth before theology accommodated itself to them.[16]

From the fifteenth century onwards, however, one detects new forces at work, a marked inflexibility in relating to different cultures, that continued right through to the post-Vatican II period.

Many factors were involved in this new inflexible approach. Over the centuries, the Church's missionary and civilizing activity within Europe produced a church that was relatively uniform in worship, ritual, belief. In brief, the Church became Euro-centric. By official treaties with the Spanish and Portuguese kings, Popes Callixtus III and Alexander VI, in 1456 and 1493 respectively, gave the right of patronage to the two great Catholic powers of Europe at that time. Church and state co-operated to their mutual advantage, the Church's missionary thrust being guaranteed and protected by the power of the state. But, from the point of view of the Church's subsequent history, the alliance was extremely unhealthy. As one commentator notes: "The missionaries - true children of their times - shared the intolerant and prejudiced views of the conquistadores on the native cultures and religions."[17] The establishment of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1622 was an effort on the part of the Church at the time to counter the influence of the states involved. From this Congregation in 1659 came the restatement of the approach made centuries before by Gregory the Great: "Do not for any sense of zeal attempt to change - do not for any reason persuade those people to change their rites, customs, and ways unless they are most obviously contrary to Faith and good morals. For what could be more absurd than to carry France, Spain, or Italy; or any other part of Europe into China? It is not this sort of thing you are to bring in but rather the Faith, which does not reject or damage any people's rites and customs provided they are not depraved. Instead it wishes that they be preserved intact." After warning about ethnocentric ways of exalting one nation's manners over another's, the Congregation urged missionaries to adapt to local usages. "Admire and praise the customs that merit praise...Do not rashly and excessively condemn the unworthy. Let customs that prove to be depraved be uprooted more by hints and by silence...gradually without jolting."[18]

Fine though these words were, the Church's evangelizers too often uncritically accepted in the practice the assumption that Western cultures and the Church itself were inseparable. The ecclesiastical administrative structures, the liturgical rites, developed over centuries in Europe, reinforced by the recent Council of Trent, were to be implanted in the new lands. This rigid stand was dramatically evident when the famous Chinese Rites Controversy broke out. The incident has been well documented.[19] It suffices to note here that the controversy started after the death of the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci, in 1610, and finally ended with the publication of the papal bull Ex quo singulari in 1742. The three great religious orders in Asia were involved: the Franciscans, the Dominicans and the Jesuits. Jesuits in China used Chinese words to express the Christian ideas and they gave permission to their converts to perform, under certain restrictions, the rites in honor of Confucius and their ancestors. To the east, however, Dominican missionaries refused to accept functional substitution as a missionary method. On the contrary, they imposed Spanish words like Dios and gracia on the local people. Among the adaptations made by Jesuits, the sign of the cross was inserted in the ancestral tablets with the instruction: "Worship the true Lord, Creator of heaven, earth and all things, and show filial piety to ancestors and parents."[20] The Jesuits were reported to Rome for encouraging idolatry. Eventually, of course, the Jesuits were condemned by Rome, despite the fact that the approach was fully in accord with the practice of the early centuries of the Church, and reiterated in the missionary directive of 1659 referred to above. Recent research, however, has uncovered the fact that even Ricci himself was not immune from Euro-centric Christian prejudice. Jacques Gernet points out - using particularly Chinese source material - that as people were converted by Ricci and other Jesuits the destruction of supposedly superstitious works began, especially books and libraries of high quality. Ricci himself records one such event: "He (Li Yingshi) had a very good library, and we needed three full days to search it all and burn the books that are forbidden by our law. These were many, especially books of divination, in their greatest number manuscripts which he had collected through a lot of work and research."[21] The author argues that to think that Ricci and the Jesuit missionaries had identified themselves deeply with Chinese culture is to imply a projection of our modern desires and understanding of what mission should be within different cultures. He claims, contrary to popular opinion about Ricci and his associates, that the Jesuits did not learn the language or study the Chinese culture out of curiosity or desire for knowledge, but simply as a means for evangelization.[22]

The human costs, not only to peoples of different cultures being evangelized but also to the missionaries themselves, of maintaining Euro-centric religious thinking and practices must have been considerable. Missionaries and their sufferings tend to be overlooked in any critique of ethnocentric evangelization programmes. Take for example the practical question of clothing. Not uncommonly women and men belonging to missionary congregations were expected to wear exactly the same heavy habits in the tropics that their fellow religious wore back in cooler Europe. Photographs from the 19th century show how important the religious habit (or clerical soutane) was considered, despite the fact that it was a most impractical garment for tropical use. In 1894, the rector of a religious seminary in England wrote to his major superior expressing fears that the seminarians might be tempted to play football and baseball, games unbecoming to men wearing soutanes. These seminarians were being trained in many instances for missionary work in the South Pacific, but the rector was preoccupied with maintaining Euro-centric ecclesiastical dress standards! To quote from the letter: "Father Corcoran asks me insistently to allow the seminarians to play football, the roughest game imaginable, which in no wise accords with a soutane, and baseball, a game played by men in trousers shaped to their figure and a shirt called flannel. They would like me to give them a field for this. These are national games, but should we introduce them to a house for theologians and novices. I await your decision. I would rather double the number of bowls and skittles."[23] Dress again was uppermost in the mind of a superior of members of the same religious congregation then working in the difficult terrain of Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, in 1940, not too long before the Japanese invasion. He pointed out that "the priests, despite their poverty, must wear socks when saying Mass and be dressed decently, as respectable clergymen ought to be, when appearing in public."[24]

IMPLANTATION OF A EURO-CENTRIC CHURCH

The Euro-centric vision of the world, while a very important factor, is not sufficient in itself to explain the style of missionary thrust within the Catholic Church from the late middle ages to the mid-20th century. As a reasonable generalization it is true that, in the first centuries of Christianity, evangelization was directed to the individual, but in and through the community or Christian congregation. The faith of the individual had to be nurtured and sustained through the support of the community. But, in time, the theological stress moved away from community evangelization to the primary concern for individual salvation. The overall goal of missionary work was to establish or implant the Church as an institution, as a monarchical and hierarchical entity, for the salvation of individual souls. The Church, with its priests and sacraments, was to be seen as the sole instrument of individual salvation and welfare. The Euro-centric aspect already referred to reinforced this theological model of the Church. The strongly clerical Church was depicted as a visible vehicle of salvation - a boat that ferries its members across the 'turbulent seas of life' or as a 'cable-car that lifts them over the abyss into which they otherwise would fall.' Salvation, according to this model, is understood as a face-to-face vision of the divine essence. There is little or no room in this model for any corporate dimension to salvation.[25]

According to this theology of evangelization, therefore, there was little need to understand culture or its implications for human behavior or corporate salvation.[26] An insight into this approach is evident in the culturally insensitive assessment by an historical observer of why Maoris in New Zealand left the Catholic Church during the British-Maori Wars of the 1860s. The writer, a Catholic archbishop, commented in 1922 that "From 1868 the Maoris were unwilling to listen to their pastors, and the latter, called away to minister to the rapidly increasing Europeans, left the Maoris to their insubordination, and attended to the souls of the Europeans."[27]

It would be wrong to conclude that evangelizers using this model showed no compassion for people they were seeking to convert. On the contrary, tremendous efforts were made not infrequently to provide medical and educational services. However, such efforts were considered, according to this model of evangelization, accidental to the main missionary thrust, namely, the conversion of individual souls.[28] Whatever helped missionaries to achieve this goal was in itself good and to be encouraged. The goal to establish the Church, with its hierarchical, sacramental and institutional structures, but dressed in European forms, remained paramount.

Reactions against this ethnocentric and individual-centered model of missionary activity emerged in the late 19th century within the Catholic Church. The rise of neo-scholasticism, encouraged particularly by Pope Leo XIII in the 1890s, brought before scholars once more the realization that Thomas Aquinas had developed his theology through the adaptation and support of Aristotelian philosophy, a philosophy that had pagan roots. God had created man; hence, by studying man and his nature one could discover, without divine revelation, a good deal about God's nature. Insights could be obtained through the study of man, no matter what cultures were involved. Logically, therefore, the Church should build its evangelization work on this type of insight, not just on the study of the scriptures. There thus developed a theoretical willingness to acknowledge the natural in man, not just the existence of a soul. In addition, there emerged an openness to discover what is valuable within the so-called heathen religions. In practice, however, missionary activity remained generally untouched by these insights. In the first half of the 20th century, the paradox became even more marked. On the one hand, the Euro-centric Church administration held firmly to its liturgical texts in Latin, and its Latin theological manuals produced by Europeans; even seminary teaching, at least according to the law, had to be conducted throughout the world in Latin. On the other hand, the Church's central administration condemned the ethnocentrism of missionaries. For example, Pope Benedict XV in 1919 rebuked those missionaries who are concerned "not so much to extend the kingdom of God as to increase the power of the missionary's own country." Moreover, he claimed that the greatest hope of the new churches lies in having their own local clergy.[29]

'ADAPTATION', 'ACCOMMODATION' AND 'INDIGENIZATION'

In the remaining decades up to Vatican II the terms 'adaptation' and 'accommodation' became familiar in authoritative Church statements, together with strong support for the rights of people to maintain their own cultures. Pius XII could claim that the "right to one's own culture and national character... are exigencies of the law of nations dictated by nature itself."[30] The same Pope also insisted that "the Catholic Church is supranational by her very nature...She cannot belong exclusively to any particular people, nor can she belong more to one than to another."[31] In 1951 he spoke with enthusiasm about the value of adapting the faith to local cultures:

> The Church from the beginning down to our own time has always followed this wise practice: let not the gospel, on being introduced into any new land, destroy or extinguish whatever its people possess that is naturally good, just or beautiful. For the church, when she calls people to a higher culture and a better way of life under the inspiration of the Christian religion, does not act like one who recklessly cuts down and uproots a thriving forest. No, she grafts a good scion upon the wild stock that it may bear a crop of more delicious fruit.[32]

This Pope, reflecting the thinking of the times, assumed that the Church was really not Euro-centric, that the faith being taught throughout the world was unencumbered with western expressions and symbols. For example, he stated in 1945, that "the Catholic Church is supranational by her very nature."[33] His successor, John XXIII, made the same assertion:

> (The Church) does not identify herself with any particular culture not even European and Western culture, with which her history is so closely linked... Rich in her youthfulness

> which is constantly renewed by the Holy Spirit, the Church is ever ready to recognize, to welcome and indeed to encourage all things that honor the human mind and heart even if they have their origin in places of the world that lie outside the Mediterranean basin which was the providential cradle of Christianity.[34]

But despite the oft-repeated references to adaptation or accommodation, little or nothing happened. The Catholic faith remained integrally entwined in the Mediterranean basin culture. I recall as a boy attending monthly 'Maori Masses' in a village in New Zealand in the 1940s and early 1950s. Even then I thought there was a paradox. The Mass was in latin, of course. But as the priest recited the latin, the Maori parishioners sang hymns in Maori, but composed and translated by Europeans! The hymns, I recall, had little or no bearing on the symbolism of the Mass; it was as though two rituals were taking place simultaneously but never at any point interacting. This whOle approach was certainly at odds with the directives of Pius XII: "(The evangelizer's) office does not demand that he transplant European civilization and culture, and no other, to foreign soil, there to take root and propagate itself."[35] As a seminarian in the 1950s, I with thousands of other seminarians in the world studied such texts, but we never quite realized why little or nothing could be done to implement them in practice. As will be seen, we were entrapped in a theological model of the Church from which escape was intrinsically impossible.

In the 1940s and 1950s the term 'indigenization' became increasingly common in Catholic mission writings. At first sight, as a policy, the expression would seem to mean that the Catholic faith should take on the cultural symbols of particular peoples. Not so. It meant little more than the recruitment of local people of different cultures as priests and religious. "The final goal," wrote Pius XII in 1951, "toward which we must strive and which must ever remain before our eyes is the firm establishment of the Church among the peoples, each (local Church) having its own hierarchy chosen from the ranks of the native clergy."[36] Indigenization could not have meant more than this since seminary formation was uniform throughout the world right up to Vatican II. The blueprint for clerical formation was ecclesiastically Eurocentric. And social sciences were not part of this blueprint. When the word 'sociology' was used, it was synonymous with 'social ethics'. Priests and religious were formed in the same mold, then freely sent to evangelize peoples of very different cultures with no training in social science analysis. Rarely was such a system ever questioned. One commentator reflected on a fundamental weakness in Catholic seminary training prior to Vatican II reforms, a weakness that would effectively obstruct many missionaries from being open to cultural analysis and to the type of adaptation referred to by Popes in the first half of the 20th century:

> In the post-Reformation era, the thesis system of teaching theology evolved; apparently this system still remains in vogue in most seminaries to this day. Basically, this methodology is aprioristic. It starts with certain premises or presuppositions and then quarries proofs from Scripture and Tradition. It is probably a fair judgement that underlying the thesis system are the postulates that: theological truth is static and relatively closed to creativity; the function of the seminary is not to educate a candidate to think but rather to absorb the unchanging truths of the Church.[37]

There was no room in the pre-Vatican II seminaries for the empirical method.

In brief, priests were in no way trained in the average seminary to see what is "good and honorable and beautiful" in cultures. If anything, they were exposed to a methodology apt to stifle any potential for creative, cultural discernment. I recall asking a Catholic missionary in New Guinea in 1966 what training he had received for his work. He responded: "I came here twenty-five years ago. I asked the resident missionary for advice on what to do. He told me to kneel down. He then gave me his blessing and told me to stand up. 'Now, Father,' he said, 'you are a real missionary. The boat leaves for your island in an hour!'" Quite a logical approach when one recognizes the type of education through which seminarians then passed.

To return to the term 'adaptation'. The term presupposed that the Catholic faith prior to Vatican II was above culture, or rather easily separated from Euro-centric symbol systems. In fact, for most missionaries Europe and the faith were inseparably united. Thus the term adaptation meant the mere external adjustment or peripheral accommodation of various customs to the Euro-centric Catholic belief system. The deeper reality and inner heart of the local culture was to be left untouched. There could be little or no change in fact until the Catholic belief system regarding the theology of the Church returned with renewed emphasis to that which characterized the early centuries of Christianity.

VATICAN II AND EVANGELIZATION

This reversal to a former emphasis did take place. With the Vatican II Council, in the early 1960s, the relationship theologically between the Church and culture(s) changed with dramatic, even revolutionary, speed. The first Vatican Council in 1870 stressed one Church, one central power, papal infallibility and the universal jurisdiction of the Pope; the second Vatican Council spoke of the existence of local Churches, and therefore, by necessity, of a legitimate pluriformity[38] in ritual, theological expression, clergy training. To explain further, Vatican II made a strong appeal to the essentially community dimension of church, moving away from what it considered the earlier overemphasis on the individual: "It has pleased God, however, to make men holy and save them not merely as individuals without any mutual bonds, but by making them into a single people, a people which acknowledges Him in truth and serves Him in holiness."[39] "Missionaries must raise up congregations of the faithful,"[40] who "everyday must become increasingly aware and alive as communities of faith, liturgy and love."[41] The Council sought to restore a balance so that the concept and reality of local Churches took their rightful place. Prior to the Council, the concept of the universal Church had been overstressed to the detriment of the local congregation or Churches. The local Church is now seen as the legitimate realization of the Universal Church at a particular time and place.[42] Vatican II portrayed the Church not as a huge, uniform monolith of Euro-centric cultural characteristics but as a fraternity of local Churches, each of which seeks to realize the gospel in accordance with the native genius and traditions of its own members. Particular stress was to be given to adapting the expression of belief to local cultures; worship had to be expressed in the art and the language understood by the people.[43] The stress is one of dialogue or interaction with local cultures, not domination or condescension. At one point the Council refers to this interaction as a process of exchange - a vastly different approach from the pre-Council use of adaptation. Customs not in conflict with basic Christian principles are to be seen as good in themselves and as living testimony to humanity's efforts to develop gifts given by God. The process of interaction must be the responsibility of local Churches if authenticity is to be achieved.[44] It was recognized that many isolated attempts at cultural adaptation had failed in the past, or remained the hobbies of a few, because many missionaries had entered alien societies without adequate preparation. Hence not only did the Council make a dialogue with cultures obligatory, but it insisted that missionaries be trained in the required social sciences and thus in the empirical method.[45] So, even seminary training was to undergo revolution if dialogue with cultures was to be realized.

As a consequence of the stress on dialogue, every effort had to be made to avoid physical or moral coercion in encouraging people into the Church. Freedom of religion and belief had to be respected.[46] The Council also stressed the service dimension of the Church. It is no longer sufficient to preach the message of justice. Action must follow, not directly for the sake of conversion, but because justice is to be seen in this world as the sign of the perfect justice in the world to come.[47]

DEVELOPMENTS SINCE VATICAN II

In brief, the values stressed by Vatican II for missionary activity varied considerably from those that prevailed over the previous several centuries. Most frequently the values underlined were not new. Rather they were a return to ancient tradition or to the local consequences of such tradition. Since Vatican II, theologians have tended to emphasize progress and evolution on all levels - theological, political, social, and economic. The theological outlook on the world became optimistic, with Christ at the peak of an unfolding human history. God and the world of cultures were seen as interrelated: God reveals himself in men, things, and events and continues his creation in the development of the world. Men and women had to become involved in the creation of a just society. Vatican II stressed a dialogue with the world; post-Vatican II theology has rather emphasized the interrelationship of the Church and the world. Hence the humanistic trend in Vatican II has now become more marked in theological reflections.[48]

The implementation of the new emphasis for evangelizers to dialogue with cultures and to enter into a more positive relationship with the world has been very uneven, often revealing considerable insensitivity to cultures and people. Lacking training in such disciplines as anthropology, church workers spoke of dialogue but acted with the authoritarian style of former ages in initiating changes. Ancient rituals were changed with extraordinary speed, revealing considerable insensitivity to the power and tenacity of symbols.[49] Missionaries, inspired by the Vatican II thrust towards justice, not infrequently initiated socio-economic development projects at village levels. But their over-dependence on foreign aid, combined with the failure to appreciate the need for in-depth research, very frequently effected disasters. By the end of the 1960s, there were reactions emerging at the center of the Church, and within several local Churches, to the unrealistic dreams of the western-directed Development Decade and to the general failure among Church workers to recognize the implications of the theology of the local Churches. Paul VI directed his attention particularly to Africa and Asia with a thrust that European theologians have yet to grasp, for the implications of his thinking do not as yet seem to be recognized. In 1969, at Kampala, the Pope stated:

> The expression, that is, the language and mode of manifesting this one Faith may be manifold, hence it may be original, suited to the tongue, the style, the character, the genius and the culture of the one who professes this one Faith. From this point of view, a certain pluralism is not only legitimate, but is desirable...And in this sense you may, and you must, have an African Christianity.[50]

I have underlined the words because of their significance for the theme of this paper. Up to this point, it was normal to speak of the need to develop Christian African cultures. The Pope was insisting that the local Churches in Africa were holding back from recognizing the implications of what the theology of the local Church should mean in practice.

Under Pope Paul VI anthropology became a rather acceptable discipline. The documents of Vatican II do not reveal any in-depth understanding of the word 'culture'. It is true that the Council frequently used the word and even sought to define it in a "sociological and ethnological sense"[51] but its definitions remained somewhat superficial. Ten years after the Council ended, Paul VI produced a lengthy statement of the purpose and method of evangelization. Interestingly enough, he downplays the use of the word 'missions' (which he uses only twice and only very incidentally),[52] recognizing that the wordis not value-free but connotes cultural inferiority in relationship to the once Euro-centric monolithic Church. But the word 'mission' is used and is applicable to all local Churches, even those in Europe. All Christians are called to mission, to preach the Word of God, within their respective cultures.[53] The Pope wrote:

> ...what matters is to evangelize man's culture and cultures (not in a purely decorative way as it were by applying a thin veneer, but in a vital way, in depth and right to their very roots)...The Kingdom which the Gospel pro-

> claims is lived by men who are profoundly linked to a culture, and the building up of the Kingdom cannot avoid borrowing the elements of human culture or cultures...The transposition has to be done with the discernment, seriousness, respect and competence which the matter calls for...And the word 'language' should be understood here less in the semantic or literary sense than in the sense which one may call anthropological and cultural. The question is undoubtedly a delicate one. Evangelization loses much of its force and effectiveness if it does not take into consideration the actual people to whom it is addressed, if it does not use their language, their signs and symbols, if it does not have an impact on their concrete life... Legitimate attention to individual Churches cannot fail to enrich the Church. Such attention is indispensable and urgent. It responds to the very deep aspirations of peoples and human communities to find their own identity ever more clearly.[54]

On two important occasions, at least, the same Pope assailed the traditional western ethnocentrism of missionaries and mission congregations.[55]

Vatican II did state that aspects of culture or cultures existentially can obstruct the development of the integral person and community.[56] But Paul VI sharpened this comment even more by introducing reference to unjust structures, that is structures of oppression. Such structures must be effectively removed if there is to be human growth.[57] So, once more, at the level of the official Church there is evidence of a deepening sensitivity to the nature of culture, a considerable advance anthropologically since Vatican II.

It is in Latin America that the belief system of the fraternity of local Church communities, as opposed to the single Church concept that prevailed up to Vatican II, eventually had a considerable theoretical and practical impact. In 1968, the Latin American bishops met at Bogota and Medellin, Colombia. From this conference there emerged a sweeping attack on poverty, combined with a structural analysis as to its causes, and the justice obligation at the local Churches' level to act:

> The lack of socio-cultural integration, in the majority of our countries, has given rise to the superimposition of cultures. In the economic sphere systems flourished which consider solely the potential of groups with great earning power...To all of this must be added the lack of solidarity which, on the individual and social levels, leads to the committing of serious sins, evident in the unjust structures which characterize the Latin American situation...[58]

The Conference insisted that structural-cultural change in favor of the poor could only be achieved through concerted stress on 'conscientizacion'.[59] In this they acknowledged not only the work of the educator Paulo Freire, who used the term to describe the process in which popular consciousness is evoked through literacy programs, but also the need for a realistic analysis of problems, structures, cultures, prior to involvement in action.[60] So, the once sleepy local Latin American Churches' administrations committed themselves to what theoretically at least was to be dramatic cultural change, even cultural revolution, in order to guarantee the rights of the poor to social, economic and political self-fulfillment. This theological stand was a far cry from the cultural adaptation, accommodation, indigenization emphasis of less than a generation before.

This historic Conference sparked off a localized Latin American theology. The phrase 'theology of liberation' was deliberately chosen to distinguish the new thrust clearly from what was called the 'theology of development'. Liberationist theologians felt that development theologians were far too capitalistic in their orientation and assumptions, tainted with the cultural values of superiority of the North, rather than with the poverty realities and structural injustice of the South.[61] The concrete cultural context of liberation theology is the situation of the masses in Latin America; whereas European theology was considered largely a quest for answers in the face of atheism, liberation theology is a search for an understanding of revelation from the viewpoint of the oppressed masses. It is not proposed as a universal theology, but as a local theology elaborated in dialogue with not the non-believer, but with the non-man - people denied the dignity of the human person. For the first time in the history of Catholic theology, this localized branch of theological reflection makes a systematic use of the social sciences, especially the structural analysis of society, whose conclusions theology then reflects on. Its criterion is praxis; that is, it is evaluated according to its evangelical fruits in terms of a liberating Christianity. While other theologies seek an understanding of revelation, it actually seeks to bring about the kingdom of God (a kingdom of justice and peace) through the praxis of revolution which is considered a self-justifying principle in terms of practical Christian love that liberates both the oppressed and oppressor. The theologian is not a single expert, but the involved, committed Christian community reflecting on their faith experience in a particular time and place. It is thus not concerned with theory, but with life, and therefore recognizes no dichotomy between thought and practice. Its starting point is politics, which is regarded as part of the heritage of creation, and it calls for contemplation in the context of militant liberation.

Truth, according to liberationists, is not something that is known, but something that is done, and therefore cannot be grasped without personal involvement in the liberating activity. For this reason the theological method requires a total immersion in the culture of the masses. The culture of the masses is characterized by the fact that it is the culture of the majority, of an oppressed group; it has a set of values and meanings different from a clerical or bourgeois culture precisely because it is exploited and held in a situation of dependence. Liberation theology sees Christianity as having arisen precisely from such a culture, and believes that when it became the official religion of the Roman empire it began to be the Church of the oppressor, because it adopted the culture of the elite; for this reason the first act of liberation must be to liberate the Church itself.[62]

While an acknowledged pioneer of this theology of liberation within the Latin American Catholic Church has deliberately stressed that the theology is not a christianization of Marxism, it is scarcely surprising that many liberation theologians have in fact slipped closer to Marxism, even to the degree of adopting violence as the only method of achieving socio-economic change.[63] Such an approach has received critical comments from the central Catholic authorities and from other theologians.[64]

In the mid-1970s, theologians produced a further expression in their effort to articulate more precisely how evangelization is to relate to cultures, namely through what is termed 'contextualization'. It involved an effort to describe all possible ways in which the Christian message and the non-Christian environment have an impact on each other. A conference held in Manila, in 1978, considered the term referred to "presenting fully the gospel of Jesus Christ here and now, incarnating it into every community, so as to make it the sign of God's kingdom-to-come."[65] The term, popular in papers and documents emanating from the World Council of Churches in Geneva, did not become popular among Catholic theologians. Like the expressions 'accommodation' and'adaptation', 'contextualization' was felt to give emphasis more to external contacts between the Christian message and a particular culture. One further criticism of the term is that it has been too frequently used by Western theologians with reference to the Third World, without sufficient sensitivity to the fact that what is conveyed by contextualization is as urgent in the West as in other parts of the world. According to this criticism, the expression was just another form of Euro-centric domination.[66]

EMERGENCE OF 'INCULTURATION'

We come now to discuss formally the main word in the tile of this paper, 'inculturation'. I say formally since in fact at least informally the entire paper has been an effort to understand why such an expression is now particularly popular in Catholic circles. In brief, before moving to further explanation, it can be defined as "the dynamic relation between the Christian message and culture or cultures; an insertion of the Christian life into a culture; an ongoing process of reciprocal and critical interaction and assimilation between them."[67] The term embraces much that we have described as characteristic of the Vatican II theological thinking, together with subsequent theological development. But the term has some significant new emphases.

There is some debate as to when and how the term first originated.[68] The first official use of the term can be found in the Final Statement of the First Plenary Assembly of the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences (Taipei, 22-27 April 1974) in which reference is made to "a church indigenous and inculturated".[69] Later, in 1977, the term received worldwide acceptance at the official level when it was used in the Message of the 5th World Synod of Bishops. Since then the expression has been popularized at all levels.[70] Particularly under the influence of the central administration of the Jesuits, the expression was never associated with local Churches in the Third World only. So connotations of ecclesiastical colonialism never became associated with the term.[71]

As we know, 'enculturation' is a term popular among some anthropologists, particularly among those who follow the thinking of M. J. Herskovits. It means the process by which an individual becomes inserted in his culture. Inculturation means then the process whereby the Church becomes inserted in a given culture. I fully agree with the missiologist Roest Crollius, however, that the difference between enculturation and inculturation does not consist in a change of subject alone, in consequence of which we speak of the insertion of the Church in a culture, and not of that of an individual. Theological dimensions add to the complexity of any effort to compare the two terms.[72] From an anthropological point of view, they refer to both similar and different experiences. The similarity has already been expressed: just as we say that the individual becomes inserted into his own culture (becomes enculturated), so we can speak of the Church becoming inserted into a given culture (becomes inculturated). However, the main difference between the expressions is that in the case of enculturation the individual does not yet have a culture, and acquires his culture in the process of enculturation, whereas the church, though it is bound to no particular culture, does not enter into a given culture unless already linked with elements of another culture. In other words, inculturation is not a simple encounter between the Gospel and a new culture. The Gospel comes to this new culture as already embodied in a particular culture. The encounter, therefore, is really between two cultures.[73]

The acceptance of the term 'inculturation' at all levels of the Church marks the most confident move by theologians and others yet made towards understanding the relevance and professional value of anthropologists. But the degree of acceptance could not have been achieved without the forthright acceptance of anthropology by Pope Paul VI in the 1975 document already referred to. We can now refer to two interesting approaches to the definition of culture contained in the document. At one point, a phenomenological definition of culture is given: "The individual Churches, intimately built up not only of people but also of aspirations, of riches and limitations, of ways of praying, of loving, of looking at life and the world which distinguish this or that human gathering, have the task of assimilating the essence of the Gospel message and of transposing it...into the language that these particular people understand, then of proclaiming it in this language."[74] The second approach to the definition of culture relates to the recognition of the all-pervading power and presence of symbols that give meaning to the lives of people. By 'symbolical' I mean all that transmits meanings (be they conscious or unconscious) and representations between the members or the generations of a society: rites, traditions, myths, language, etc. It is this understanding of culture that the Pope refers to when he says that "evangelization loses much of its force and effectiveness if it does not take into consideration the actual people to whom it is addressed, if it does not use their language, their signs and symbols..."[75] The consequence of this official backing, combined with the whole theological movement in the post-Vatican II Church, is that an increasing number of Catholic theologians are turning to the social sciences, in particular cultural/social anthropology, in an effort to found theology as a vital force within the lives of people.[76]

The expression 'inculturation' also connotes (as does 'enculturation') the reality that interiorization of beliefs, values, symbols, is a process that is ongoing. In the case of enculturation, if the process is obstructed at any stage, for whatever reason, human growth becomes stunted. This is applied analogically also to inculturation of the faith on the part of individuals and communities. In addition, those who use the term 'enculturation' assume the vital role of the community as facilitator, enabler, educator. So also with inculturation, it is assumed by theologians that the individual can become inculturated and sustained in his or her beliefs only in and through the community. The recognition of this fact on the part of theologians is the result of their closer association with the social sciences, at least to a significant degree. The community itself becomes the direct subject of inculturation. Hence the vigorous direction of Paul VI, already quoted above: "...what matters is to evangelize man's culture and cultures..."[77] The starting point and locus of inculturation is the community. It is in the context of its life that the encounter between the Gospel and culture takes place. The community's experience of its problems, its search for significance and relevance in life is the starting point. It is to this situation, according to the principles of inculturation, that the Gospel message is addressed. The community needs to interpret the Gospel, reaching across the cultural forms of its proclamation and making it relevant to the situation here and now. Such interpretation leads to discernment, commitment and action. This moment of interpretation and involvement, as one Catholic liturgist, Michael Amaladoss, points out, is the creative moment of inculturation. The primary agent of inculturation is the living community; it is not the work of an elite or of the leadership who create a new culture in their laboratory, so to speak, and then communicate it to the people.[78]

Theologically, however, the new insights connoted by the expression 'inculturation' would not have been possible in so short a time since Vatican II, if local churches had not been restored to a more positive relationship with the universal Church, the relationship which characterized the early centuries and life of Christianity: "This universal Church is in practice incarnate in the individual Churches made up of such or such an actual part of mankind, speaking such and such a language, heirs of a cultural patrimony, of a vision of the world, of an historical past, of a particular human substratum."[79] So, when we speak of the community as being the starting point and locus of inculturation, theologically this means primarily the local Church: "The individual Churches...have the task of assimilating the essence of the Gospel message and of transposing it, without the slightest betrayal of its essential truth, into the language that these particular people understand..."[80]

CONCLUSION

When Vatican II spoke of "a living exchange between the Church and the diverse cultures of people"[81] and stated that "this Church of Christ is truly present in all legitimate local congregations of the faithful which, united with their pastors, are themselves called churches in the New Testament,"[82] it laid the foundations for the undermining of a self-confident Euro-centric Catholic Church. The theological move from opposition to the world of cultures, to the obligation to dialogue, to the necessity to come alive within cultures, has led to an openness to the insights of cultural/social anthropology that a social scientist could never have considered possible even as recently as 1960. The expression 'inculturation' is the fruit of this positive interaction. Only time will tell where this interaction will lead future theologians and anthropologists.

Keats writes in one of his poems ("When I have-Fears"): "When I behold, upon the night's starred face, Huge cloudy symbols of a high romance." Using one's imagination and interpreting Keats in a way he surely would never have intended, we might apply these words to a future positive relationship between theology and anthropology. Stars and clouds; theology and anthropology! Romance, not romanticism! Perhaps Tylor's wish might be realized to a degree beyond his imagination after all.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Cf. Barney, G. Linwood, "The Challenge of Anthropology to Current Missiology" in International Bulletin of Missionary Research. October 1981, p. 172.

[2] Cf. Sacrifice. Edited by Bourdillon, M.F.C. and Fortes, M. New York: Academic Press, 1980, p. vi.

[3] Cf. "Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy" in Abbott, W., Editor, The Documents of Vatican II. New York: America Press, 1966, p. 151.

[4] Cf. Chupungco, A.J., Cultural Adaptation of the Liturgy. New York: Paulist Press, 1982, p. 7.

[5] Ibid. p. 8.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid. p. 14.

[8] Cf. Chupungco, A.J. "Liturgy and Inculturation" in East Asian Pastoral Review, Vol. XVIII, No. 3. 1981, p. 264.

[9] Ibid. Cf. Klauser, T., A Short History of the Western Liturgy: An Account and Some Reflections. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969, pp. 32-37.

[10] Cf. Martos, J., Doors to the Sacred: A Historical Introduction to Sacraments in the Christian Church. London: SCM Press, 1981, p. 320f.

[11] Cf. Cullman, O., The Early Church. Edited by Higgins, A.J.B. London: SCM Press, 1966, pp. 21-36.

[12] Cf. Chupungco, A.J., Cultural Adaptation of the Liturgy. Op.cit.p. 24. There were evident signs, however, of papal ritual inflexibility, a point made by the theologian Congar: "...There existed an imperialism which tended to confuse unity and uniformity, to impose everywhere the Roman customs and rites, in a word, considering the universal Church as a simple extension

of the Church of Rome...We find in Pope Siricius in 385, in Innocent I in 416...the astounding affirmation that no one can truly have the faith of Peter unless he desires the customs and rites of Peter, that is, of Rome." "Christianity as Faith and as Culture" in East Asian Pastoral Review, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, 1981, p. 310.

[13] Cf. Danielou, J. and Marrou, H., The Christian Centuries: The First Six Hundred Years. Translated by Cronin, V. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1964, p. 440.

[14] "Gregory's Counsel to Mellitus with regard to the Heathen Temples in England" in The Mission of St Augustine to England according to the Original Documents, Being a Handbook for the Thirteenth Centenary. Edited by Mason, A.J. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1879, pp. 89-91.

[15] Cf. Clark, K., Civilization. London: BBC and John Murray, 1969, p. 175.

[16] Cf. Schlette, H.R., "Theological Problem of Adaptation" in Sacramentum Mundi: An Encyclopedia of Theology. Edited by Rahner, K. London: Burns and Oates, 1969, p. 82.

[17] Voss, G., "Missionary Accommodation" in Missionary Academic Study No. 2. New York: Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1946, p. 17.

[18] See Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, "Instructio ad Vicariorum Apostolicorum ad Regna Synarum Tonchini et Cocinnae Proficiscentium," in Collectanea Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide. Rome, 1907, Vol. I, p. 42.

[19] Cf. Allan, C.W., Jesuits at the Court of Peking. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh. n.d. Reprinted 1975. Arlington: University Publications of America Inc.

[20] For summary of controversy see Chupungco, A.J., Cultural Adaptation of the Liturgy. Pp.cit. pp. 38-40.

[21] Cited by Gernet, J., *Chine et christianisme: action et réaction*. Paris Editions Gallimard, 1982, p. 243.

[22] For helpful analysis see Bontinck, F., *La lutte autour de la liturgie chinoise aux XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siecles*. Louvain: Editions Nauwelaerts, 1962.

[23] Letter of Chataigner, J.B. (Fr) to Superior General, Marist Fathers, Lyons, 19 October 1894. Archives: Marist Fathers, Rome.

[24] Letter of Provincial following visitation of Bougainville, 12 August 1940. Archives: Marist Fathers, Suva, Fiji.

[25] Cf. Dulles, A., *Models of the Church*. New York: Image Books, 1978, pp. 39-50.

[26] Cf. Dulles, A. "The Church and Salvation" in *Missiology: An International Review*. Vol. I. No. 2. 1973, p. 72.

[27] Redwood, F., Archbishop of Wellington, N.Z. *Reminiscences of Early Days in New Zealand*. Wellington, 1922. Cited by Keys, L.G., *Philip Viard: Bishop of Wellington*. Christchurch: Pegasus, 1968, p. 203.

[28] One senses this approach coming through the following statement of Pope Pius XII: "...Do not be annoyed, but rather accept patiently that an important part of your activities will be taken up with material works of charity, in the form of interventions, recommendations and perhaps even juridical assistance...Every assistance slowly brings those helped closer to God and strengthens their faith. *In this way they become better disposed and more apt to welcome your spiritual works*..." (My italics) *Speech to Missionaries for Emigrants and Ship Captains, 6 August 1952*. Vatican Press, 1952, p. 6. Note the contrasting emphasis in "Justice in the World," Bishops Synod Statement, 1971: "Action in behalf of justice and participation in the transformation of the world fully appear to us a constitutive dimension of the preaching of the Gospel, or, in other words, of the Church's mission for the redemption of the human race

and its liberation from every oppressive situation." See Catholic Bishops Synod, The Gospel of Peace and Justice: Catholic Social Teaching since Pope John XXIII. Edited by Gremillion, J., New York: Orbis, 1976, p. 521.

[29] Benedict XV's Apostolic Letter "Maximum Illud" in Modern Missionary Documents and Africa. Edited by Hickey, R. Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1982, p. 37.

[30] Allocution, 6 December 1953, in Acta Apostolicae Sedis, XLX, 1953, p. 794.

[31] Christmas Message, 1945, Cited by Luzbetak, L.J., in The Church and Cultures. Techny: Divine Word Publications, 1970, p. 343.

[32] Encyclical Letter, "Evangelii Praecones", in Hickey R. Op.cit. p. 97.

[33] Christmas Message, 1945, Cited by Luzbetak, L.J. Op.cit. p. 343.

[34] Encyclical Letter "Princeps Pastorum", in Hickey, R. Op.cit. p. 143.

[35] Encyclical Letter "Evangelii Praecones", in Hickey R. Op.cit. p. 99.

[36] Ibid. p. 83f.

[37] Brooks, R.M. "Sociological Dimensions of the Seminary" in Seminary Education in a Time of Change. Edited by Lee, J.M. and Putz, L.J. Indiana: Fides, 1965, p. 216.

[38] Cf. Dunn, E.J. Missionary Theology: Foundations in Development. Washington: University Press of America, 1980, pp. 73ff.

[39] "The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church", Vatican II. Edited by Abbott, W. Op.cit. p. 25.

[40] "The Decree on Missionary Activity", Vatican II, Ibid. p. 602

[41] Ibid. p. 608.

[42] Cf. "The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church", Vatican II, Ibid. p. 50.

[43] Cf. "The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy", Vatican II, Ibid. p. 151.

[44] Cf. "The Decree on Missionary Activity", Vatican II, Ibid. p. 612.

[45] Ibid. pp. 613-618.

[46] Cf. "Declaration on Religious Freedom", Vatican II, Ibid. pp. 678f.

[47] Cf. "The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church", Vatican II, Ibid. pp. 79f.

[48] Cf. Arbuckle, G. "The Impact of Vatican II on the Marists in Oceania", in Mission, Church, and Sect in Oceania. Edited by Boutilier, J., Hughes, D., and Tiffany, S. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1978, pp. 279-282.

[49] Two studies illustrate this point. Douglas, M. Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology. New York: Pantheon, 1970, pp. 37-53; Hitchcock, J. The Recovery of the Sacred. New York: The Seabury Press, 1974.

[50] "Closing Discourse to All-Africa Symposium" in Gaba Pastoral Paper, 1969, cited by Shorter, A., African Christian Theology. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1975, p. 20. (My italics)

[51] "The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World", Vatican II. Edited by Abott, W. Op.cit. p. 259.

[52] Cf. Buhlmann, W. The Chosen Peoples. Translated by Barr, R. Slough: St. Paul Publications, 1982, p. 249.

[53] Cf. Apostolic Exhortation, The Evangelization of the Men of Our Time. Rome: Sacred Congregation for Evangelization of Peoples, 1975.

[54] Ibid. pars. 20, 63.

[55] Paul VI, in March 1967, stated that the work of missionaries, "inasmuch as it was human, was not perfect, and sometimes the announcement of the authentic Gospel message was infiltrated by many ways of thinking and acting which were characteristic of their home country..." Encyclical Letter, "On the Development of Peoples" in The Gospel of Peace and Justice: Catholic Social Teaching since Pope John XXIII. Edited by Gremillion, J. Op.cit. p. 391; later that year Paul VI, in a Message to "The Sacred Hierarchy and All Peoples of Africa", spoke more directly on the issue: "...Sometimes, the missionaries of the past are said to have lacked an understanding of the positive value of customs and ancient traditions, and we must frankly admit that, although they were inspired and guided by the highest motives...they could not be wholly free of the attitudes of the time..." The Tablet (UK), 4 November 1967, p. 1164.

[56] "The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World", Vatican II. Edited by Abbott, W. Op.cit. p. 279.

[57] Cf. Apostolic Exhoration, The Evangelization of the Men of Our Time. Op.cit. par. 36.

[58] Medellin Documents: Justice, Peace, Family and Demography, Poverty of the Church, 6 September 1968. Contained in Gremillion, J. Op.cit. p. 446.

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[61] Cf. Verkuyl, J., Contemporary Missiology: An Introduction. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1978, pp. 289-295; also Dunn, E.J., Missionary Theology: Foundations in Development. Op.cit. pp. 136-178.

[62] Cf. Gomez, P., "Two Case Studies in Inculturation" in East Asian Pastoral Review, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, 1981, pp. 241-244.

[63] Cf. Gutierrez, G., The Theology of Liberation. New York: Orbis, 1972. Gutierrez, in an effort to carefully avoid identification with Marxism, drew insights not only from biblical sources but also from Teilhard de Chardin.

[64] Cf. Paul VI, "Octogesima Adveniens" 14 May 1971, in Gremillion, J., The Gospel of Peace and Justice: Catholic Social Teaching Since Pope John XXIII. Op.cit. p. 501; John Paul II, "Address to Latin American Bishops" in L'Osservatore Romano, 5 February, 1979, pp. Iff.

[65] Friedli, R. "Christ within Cultures: Dialogue in Context" in Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research, Vol. 4, No. 1, January, 1980, p. 26. Tippett defines contextualization as "the process of making evangelism and the new lifestyle relevant in the specifics of time and space." "Contextualization of the Gospel in Fiji: A Case Study from Oceania" in Gospel and Culture. Edited by Stott, J. and Coote, R.T. Pasadena: William Carey, 1979, p. 390.

[66] Cf. Newbigin, L., "Mission in the 1980s" in Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research, Vol. 4, No. 4, Oct. 1980, pp. 110f.; Crollius, A.R., "What is New About Inculturation? A Concept and Its Implications" in Gregorianum, No 59, 1978, p. 723. Tippett's definition of contextualization given in the previous footnote conveys the impression of some form of external interaction between the gospel and culture, without any dialectical depth.

[67] Azevedo, Marcello de C., Inculturation and the Challenge of Modernity. Rome: Gregorian University, 1982, p. 11.; Crollius defines inculturation of the Church as "the integration of the Christian experience of a local Church into the culture of its people, in such a way that this experience not only expresses itself in elements of this culture, but becomes a force that animates, orients and innovates this culture so as to create a new unity and communion, not only within the culture in question, but

also as an enrichment of the Church universal." Op.cit. p. 735.

[68] Cf. Crollius, A.R. Ibid. p. 722

[69] His Gospel to Our Peoples. Vol.II. Manila: Cardinal Bea Institute, 1976, p. 332.

[70] E.g., John Paul II, speaking to Zairean bishops on 3 May 1980 follows the approach of Paul VI regarding the Africanization of the Church: "One of the aspects of this evangelization is the inculturation of the Gospel, the Africanization of the Church...This is part of the indispensable efforts to incarnate the message of Christ...You wish to be at once fully Christians and fully Africans...Africanization covers wide and deep fields, which have not yet been sufficiently explored, whether it is a question of the language to present the Christian message in a way that will reach the spirit and the heart of Zaireans, of catechesis, theological reflection, the most suitable expression in liturgy or sacred art, community forms of Christian life..." John Paul II African Addresses. Bologna: Editrice Missionaria Italiana, 1981, pp. 38f.

[71] Elected representatives of the Jesuit Congregation met in Rome for several months, 1974-75. Documents emanating from this meeting gave particularly strong support to the use of the term 'inculturation'. The head of the Jesuit Congregation, P. Arrupe, personally wrote to all Jesuits stating: "...I want us to be vitally aware of the capital importance of inculturation for our mission..." His influence was strong in preventing the term from taking on the Euro-centric connotations of 'adaptation', 'accommodation', or similar expressions of pre-Vatican II theology. Inter alia, he wrote: "...It is clear that the need for inculturation is universal. Until a few years ago one might have thought that it was a concern only of countries or continents that were different from those in which the Gospel was assumed to have been inculturated for centuries. But the galloping pace of change in these latter areas...persuades us that today there is need of a new and continuous inculturation of the faith everywhere...The concepts, 'Missions', 'Third World, 'East/West', etc., are relative and we should get beyond

them, considering the whole world as one single family, whose members are beset by the same varied problems..." 14 May 1978. Cf. Arrupe, P. Other Apostolates Today: Selected Letters and Addresses. Edited by Aixala, J. St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1981, p. 173f.

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[73] Cf. Amaladoss, M., "Inculturation and Tasks of Mission" in Toward a New Age in Mission: International Congress on Mission 1979, Vol. III. Manila: IMC/TCO, 1981, p. 34.

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[75] Ibid. (My italics).

[76] E.g. Congar, Y., "Christianity as Faith and as Culture" in East Asian Pastoral Review, Vol. XVIII, No. 4.; Lambino, A.B., "Towards an Inculturated Theology in the Philippines" in The South-East Asian Journal of Theology, No. 20, 1979, pp. 35-38; Crollius, A.R., "Inculturation and the Meaning of Culture" in Gregorianum, No. 61, 1980, pp. 253-274; Van Roo, W.A., Man the Symbolizer. Roma: Universita Gregoriana Editrice, 1981; Meland, B.E. Fallible Forms and Symbols: Discussions on Methods in a Theology of Culture. Philadelphia: Forbess, 1976. In 1982, a document on the topic of mission and evangelism was published at the request of the World Council of Churches. While not binding on all member organizations, the document uses the term 'inculturation' in a way similar to that described in this paper. Cf. "Mission and Evangelism: An Ecumenical Affirmation" in International Review of Mission, Vol. LXXI, No. 284, 1982, p. 427ff.

[77] Op.cit. par. 20.

[78] Cf. Amaladoss, M. Op.cit. p. 37.

[79] Paul VI, The Evangelization of the Men of Our Time, Op.cit. par. 62.

[80] Ibid. par. 63.

[81] "The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World". Edited by Abbott, W. Op. p. 246.

[82] "The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church". Ibid. p. 50.

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A MISSIONARY PHILOSOPHY OF DEVELOPMENT

T. WAYNE DYE

Rapid change characterizes most of the world's minority groups. Though much of this change is not due to the deliberate efforts of outside agents, there are also many change agents at work in minority groups. These agents each have at least an intuitive vision of the results they want in the groups with which they work, a vision which may be quite opposed to the vision of others working with the same group or, more importantly, to the goals of the group members themselves. Of these change agents, the most common and possibly among the more naive and dedicated are Christian missionaries.

Missionaries as change agents have recently come under considerable fire by some anthropologists, and missionaries themselves have seen the need to clarify their understanding of goals, methods, and results. This paper attempts to provide an articulate philosophy of development which, as much as possible, is compatible with basic humanistic goals, anthropological insights, and traditional Christian world view. The principles here are intended to be taught in training schools, missionary orientation, and updating seminars. My role as an anthropologically trained missionary is to assist my colleagues in learning more appropriate patterns of work.

This paper is in four parts: (1) some limits in its scope, (2) principles based on a humanistic consensus (the largest section), (3) principles arising from particular Christian presuppositions, and (4) special constraints on the work of missionaries.

AREA OF APPLICATION

Minority groups in rural situations are in focus here primarily because my experience is with such groups. I worked with a language group of around 400 people in Papua New Guinea and as an advisor to people working with minority groups in several other countries. Hence this limit on the principles.

Missionaries bring both intended and unintended change. These principles apply to both kinds. There is a difference, however, in the way the two types of changes should be evaluated. An intended change is by definition a change toward which the missionary is working. It should be compared with other possible strategies for change which the missionary could be pursuing. An unintended change is not being evaluated against any particular goal. It is enough that unintended changes not bring significant harm.

Change is not in itself something to be avoided. Obviously that is a necessary assumption for a missionary, but I suggest that it is a realistic assumption for anyone with an interest in minority groups in the 1980s. Cultures have always changed, and most of them are currently changing at a very rapid rate, whether missionaries are present or not. In the Vaupez of the Colombian Amazon, for instance, the purchasers of coca powder have had more effect on the indigenous people in five years than missionaries did in twenty five.

What we are looking for is some realistic assessment of the changes we cause. We do not want blanket approval of all change, for some change is deleterious. Nor do we want blanket condemnation of all change. A realistic assessment is based on the kinds of changes taking place and on what the situation probably would be without the missionary's presence and activity. Only by comparing what might be without his presence can we realistically assess the effect of a missionary.

These principles, then, are intended to provide a realistic set of goals and evaluative guidelines for missionaries considering change in rural minority groups.

BASIC HUMANISTIC PRINCIPLES

This first set of development principles is widely held by liberal-minded people holding many different viewpoints. It is not particularly associated with a Christian world view. Though some of the people who contributed to their formation have been Christians, and in some cases have explicitly derived their views from Christian presuppositions, this set of principles is really the heritage of humanity. Christians share them primarily as part of a broad humanistic consensus which they have accepted from the thinking of others. While there is some disagreement about principles five through eight, I think for the most part they approximate the core principles of development as it is conceived today. The more important principles are given first.

1. Basic Human Needs

It has become widely accepted that the minimum requirement of good development is that it helps meet basic human needs. This concept of basic human needs is somewhat flexible and dependent on local situations, but it always includes a reasonable measure of food, shelter, health care, and those things such as friends, family, a place in the community, and a sense of accomplishment which contribute to emotional-well being. There is a growing literature on this concept (see, e.g., Green 1978; Goodland 1982), and it is not my intention to further define it. The point here is to recognize the centrality of basic human needs in proper development strategy. Two notes should be added, however, since they speak to questions sometimes raised about missionary development.

First, the emphasis is on meeting the basic needs of everyone concerned, not in going beyond these basic needs for a few rich people. Merely improving per capita GDP, for instance, is not enough; the extra wealth may (often does) benefit those whose basic needs are already met. We count as a good effect of change only improvements in meeting basic needs; helping those whose needs are already met adds nothing.

Secondly, human needs include emotional needs and needs of what might be called the human spirit. People not only need physical provision; they also need to have family and friends, 'loved ones,' to use an old term. Some kinds of development (e.g., rapid industrialization, establishment of communes) improve material well-being but destroy family and community cohesion. People also need to feel that they are working towards meeting their own goals. Sometimes it is better for people to be obtaining a smaller amount of food for themselves than to be well fed but dependent on others. Maslow's widely used hierarchy of needs and drives covers much of what is meant here.

Although the Basic Human Needs concept was articulated by other development people, it seems very close to the intuitive development concerns of many missionaries.

2. Respect

There must always be a strong degree of respect for local culture and for the host people as people. Respect for culture includes accepting it as equally valid as one's own and an adequate potential vehicle for Christianity. It implies a reluctance to bring in outside customs except as demanded by local people. It does not imply the total absence of introduced religious change, as will be described under 'Christian Principles' below.

Respect for people includes considering them to be peers, respecting their opinions, and in every sense treating adults as adults. It means expecting to find wisdom and insight in people who do not have western education, and wanting to learn from them. With some sad exceptions missionaries have generally demonstrated love for minority peoples; respect has been harder to come by. Nevertheless, respect is a basic minimum requirement for a change agent.

3. Self-Determination

Ideally everyone affected by a development decision should have some part in that decision. This is principally to protect against human selfishness on the part of decision-makers. Self-determination also enhances each person's sense of accomplishment. In the case of change advocates from outside the community, such as missionaries, self-determination also helps guard against changes which are not wanted or are detrimental. Even the most culturally aware outsider cannot easily ascertain what is really helpful in a local situation.

Usually the most important question is not how a change is introduced, but the effect of that change on the community. It is good if any particular change is itself accepted by agreement of those affected; yet it is much more important that people retain their ability to control their own affairs.

The concept of self-determination does not specify the decision process, which clearly would need to be appropriate to the local situation.

The decision whether and how to embrace change belongs to a community. It is paternalistic for an outsider to feel he knows better than local leaders, whether the outsider is advocating change or maintenance of the status quo. Such paternalism may be justified when the outsider does indeed know much more about possible outcomes than local people, but it should be recognized for what it is.

This does not preclude outsiders from pointing out relevant facts or suggesting new alternatives, or even from respectfully arguing for either new ideas or traditional customs. If I believe my friend is going to be hurt, I ought to say something to him. Indeed, most worthwhile change seems to start with an outsider providing new information, whether this is in the form of conscientization about economic realities or introducing a new crop or teaching literacy. Great care is needed, however, in most minority group situations to offset the inherent cultural dominance of an educated and prestigious outsider in a small community. Any change agent must be constantly seeking feedback and looking for those times when people reject his suggestions. If they seldom disagree with him, it is unlikely that the community feels free to make its own decisions.

Political self-determination has been in focus in these paragraphs, but that means little to a people unless there is also a measure of economic self-determination. A house helper in an Asian city, for instance, can't do much with her political freedom if she must work 120 hours a week just to keep a job. The problem here is that in a world of high unemployment few people really have much economic self-determination, and there is little a missionary can do to help the problem. Certain development choices, however, do have a strong impact on economic self-determination. Introducing cash cropping, for instance, may seem like a natural step to help cash-poor subsistence farmers, but in many cases this step has trapped them into an economic system entirely controlled by outside forces.

4. Community Integrity

The fourth development principle in importance is that the stability or coherence or integrity of the community should be bolstered wherever possible. The cohesion of the local community, existing decision making processes, and local values should be fostered. By 'wherever possible' I mean where the community is trying to meet the basic human needs of its members, and where is a reasonable amount of self-determination. A community where those in control are exploiting the rest and keeping them from effective participation may be able to develop properly only when the leadership is radically changed.

In the kinship-organized groups which comprise most linguistic minorities, however, maintaining community integrity is vital for individual well-being. In such cases change should not destroy the position of older accepted leaders. It should as much as possible foster existing family ties, patterns of reciprocity, and even friendships. If these are destroyed people become confused, demoralized and unable to cope with the impinging outside world.

I do not equate all change in community processes or structures with destruction, however. Communities can be very flexible, able to change quite radically while their basic integrity as communities remains intact. Community coherence is damaged primarily when change is extremely rapid, or more often when the process of change is such as to damage the existing social structure. In Lauriston Sharp's classic study of the Yir Yiront (1952), it was the way in which steel axes destroyed traditional leadership which did the most damage.

5. Avoiding Exploitation

The fifth principle is that good change does not lead to increased exploitation. Ideally it diminishes exploitation. In fact, in some situations fighting exploitation is such an urgent need that most other kinds of change activities are comparatively unimportant. Overcoming exploitation is extremely difficult, however, especially for a foreigner to attempt. Often the only thing he can do is essentially to ignore this aspect of the situation and work on other issues.

As others have pointed out, a principal problem in much missionary work is that it accelerates the movement of isolated groups into international economic systems, usually at the lowest level. Most other kinds of development in which missionaries are involved have little effect on the level of exploitation, except that ameliorating hardship or promoting personal peace and security may diminish the motivation for revolution. Improved food crops, outhouses, and religious conversion are among the changes which might have little effect on the degree to which a minority group is being exploited. In fact, conversion sometimes leads to improved morale and greater efforts by minority peoples to defend themselves. Nevertheless, the relationship between these changes and exploitation should be explored and taken into consideration in guiding change.

6. Appropriate Technology

Any introduced technology, including the 'technology' of carrying on an introduced religion, should be as appropriate as possible to the cultural style and skills of the client people. This naturally follows from the principles of respect, self-determination, and community integrity. A technology which is too complex for the community to handle blocks them from effective decision making and fosters dependence on outside specialists of one kind or another.

7. Nonviolence

Ideally, a good change should be nonviolent. This is simply because violence destroys people, and it is human welfare which we are trying to enhance. Violence not only hurts the victim, it produces hatred, schism, and pain in those around him, including the perpetrators. I do not say that violence is never necessary. Too many of my fellow Christians from Latin America think otherwise for me to make a categorical judgement without first sharing their pain. But surely it must be a last resort, just as we try to avoid poisoning a medical patient to cure him.

8. Cooperation

Those working for change should cooperate wherever they can agree on a course of action, regardless of differences in ideology or ultimate goals. Many ethnic groups have enough problems to tax the resources of all those involved; their energies should not be wasted in competition or rancor.

In summary, the basic principles of development which I suggest are widely accepted are that development should meet basic human needs, be culturally respectful, enhance self-determination, bolster community integrity, not contribute to exploitation, be technologically appropriate, be nonviolent, and involve cooperation where possible.

CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES

The previous section included principles which seem in agreement with biblical concepts and so could also be called Christian principles. Others, however, derive these principles from other presuppositions. The following principles, in contrast, would not be so widely held outside of the Christian tradition.

1. Culture and Conscience

In Christian belief, moral questions do not simply affect one's psychological well-being; they have cosmic significance. For us, ethical questions are not an option in development issues, nor in any other issue in life. Some of the above principles, such as avoiding exploitation, are basically moral issues (Goodland 1982:15). On other ethical issues, however, there is room for much cultural variation, though admittedly the behavior of many evangelical missionaries belies this. The problem is ethnocentrism, the cultural blindness which prevents a person from seeing how the heart of another's ethical system relates to his own. I am bold to say that cultural variation is inherent in Christianity because reaction by staunch Bible believers has been so positive to my own feeble efforts to articulate a cross-cultural Christian ethic (1976).

In my view the biblical teaching is a combination of universal, ethical principles with culturally specific outworkings. It is not the objective, operational aspects of behavior which are in focus in the Bible, but its inner character, its "meaning," if you will. The commandment "do not steal", for instance, can only mean "do not do those things defined as stealing". Even the most literal-minded Christians have an operational interpretation of stealing that is different from what it was in Jesus' day. For instance, Jesus was in the habit of passing through gardens and picking some of the crops and eating them on the spot. This followed ancient Jewish law. In fact, even his enemies the Pharisees found no fault with his actions (unless he happened to "harvest" this food on the Sabbath). If I were to do the same thing in California I could be jailed for theft. Our respective cultures have provided different operational definitions of stealing, though Christians believe the biblical proscription is universally applicable.

Whatever the details, missionaries can be counted on to be concerned with following their consciences. I maintain that they must also pay attention to the consciences of their hosts.

2. The Importance of Christian Faith

Traditional Christianity is inherently evangelistic. An approach to development which strongly hinders people from becoming Christians will always be rejected by evangelical missionaries. The extreme economic emphasis of some forms of capitalist development and the atheism and emphasis on political solutions of Marxism both hinder evangelism. The view that indigenous peoples should be subject to no outside influence except the Bible is also a hindrance.

CONSTRAINTS ON MISSIONARIES

The above principles help define a development philosophy which can be held by any orthodox Christian. In addition to sharing these principles, foreign missionaries work under two constraints not shared by many change agents.

1. Small Programs

Compared with government development programs, missionary approaches to development are typically small in scale. This is due to limited resources, and frequently also to government restrictions on large private projects. By and large, this is probably a good thing.

Missionaries typically introduce small projects, often limited to helping their friends or those around the station. Their role in large projects is more often that of a catalyst or advisor or a communication bridge between government development people (who typically stay only a short time) and local leaders.

2. Foreign Guests

Missionaries are hindered most by being guests in the countries where they work. Any foreigner is subject to expulsion by the host government if he displeases them. He must obey the laws and to varying degrees support the government or go completely underground and join some guerilla band. Furthermore, commitment to nonviolence where possible and the conviction that salvation is primarily in heaven would predispose missionaries to obey host governments even in the absence of fear or belief in the moral rightness of obedience. Thus, missionaries are not even in a position to advocate violence to local citizens.

Nevertheless, missionaries do have some responsibility to make people aware of their economic and political situations. To completely refrain from doing so is to acquiesce in their exploitation; it would be contrary to the first principle of helping people meet basic human needs.

This completes the principles which I think are consonant with missionary thinking today. Missionaries who ignore these principles invite criticism as well as cultural problems. Those who follow them will avoid many development problems, and need not be ashamed when talking about their work to anyone.

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DEVELOPING MORALNETS: TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF CULTURE CHANGE AMONG THE CHOCO

BY JACOB A. LOEWEN

INTRODUCTION

The year 1949 was a milestone year for applied anthropology. That was the year Dr. Allan R. Holmberg of Cornell University went to Peru to begin the Vicos project which, no doubt, was (at least up to that time) the most ambitious program of directed culture change ever undertaken by an American university team (Dobyns 1964; Hickman 1965; Holmberg 1966). Its purpose was to help some 2000 huasipongos, 'debt servants', who lived on the Vicos hacienda in the Peruvian Highlands to learn how "to live as free and responsible men instead of what they had been -- the animals closest to men in the evolutionary line."

> "What does a psychoanalyst do?" Holmberg asked himself before undertaking his pioneer intervention at Vicos. "He starts with a patient who desires but is unable to function in the fullest capacity in the world in which

> he interacts. The fact that he cannot do so may be the fault of the society in which he lives, but if the patient is to make a satisfactory and desirable adjustment to life, he must change his behavior in various ways. The analyst cannot change his behavior for him; the patient must do it for himself. Ideally, what happens is this: through a process of self-enlightenment, with occasional strategic intervention by the analyst, the patient cures himself so that he can face up to his anxieties and shoulder his responsibilities to the best of his native abilities.
>
> "It seems to me that the role of the participant interventionist in the process of community development is much the same. His job is to assist the community to develop itself, and to study this process while it is taking place. He cannot 'cure' the community as a surgeon cures a patient; the community must perform the operation on itself."
>
> At the end of five years of intervening at Vicos, Professor Holmberg's lease was up. Had his experiment worked? He could only wait and wonder. A long period of excruciating uncertainty followed. The Indians, responding to his encouragements, tried to take over the place. They failed. They tried again. And on 13 July 1962 they finally signed a purchase contract and made a down payment of twenty-five percent toward buying Vicos and with it their personal liberty (Niehoff 1966:60-61).

The preceding report was published in 1962. That was also the year I had another opportunity to meet with Dr. Holmberg, this time between sessions of the Congress of Americanists meeting in Mexico city. During the encounter I asked Dr. Holmberg two questions: First, "If you could redo Vicos, is there any one thing you did which you wouldn't do, or vice versa, which you didn't do that you would now do?" He looked around to make sure that we were alone and then with deep conviction said: "I'd introduce a good dose of old-fashioned religion because without a change of value system, what we really have achieved is a bigger and better beer bust." He then went on to explain how surplus potatoes had traditionally been converted into liquor. Before the Vicos project a good year might produce enough surplus potatoes for a week, or at the most two weeks of drinking. The last year, that is the year after the Vicos project terminated, had produced enough potatoes for four months supply of liquor, and the newly independent Vicos farmers missed their next planting season.

Next, I asked Dr. Holmberg: "Did the team have enough time to carry out your experiment at participant intervention?" He replied: "No, I think for such a project to truly achieve its optimum, it needs at least twenty-five years of participant intervention in order to provide the necessary time frame; first, for learning the new behavior patterns, and then for having them become the established norm."

This encounter with the father of Vicos helped focus a dream which David Wirsche and I shared, namely, we wanted to help the Choco Indians of Coastal Colombia and Panama develop a set of values and a social milieu which would make them morally free, socially valuable persons who could function with self-respect both in their own society and in the national society in which they found themselves.

What now follows is a resume of a twenty-five year effort to function as part-time culture brokers for the Choco people -- a Christian Vicos, if you like.

1. The People and Their Culture

The people who are the concern of this paper are the Waunana (Wounan by indigenous pronunciation) from the lower San Juan River basin in the Choco of Colombia, and the Empena (Embena) in the Darien region of Panama. The events here alluded to also involved some of the Empena in Colombia in the Choco region between the Atrato River and the Pacific Ocean, and those living on the Sambu River in Panama. Together these groups (total population about twenty to twenty-five thousand) are usually spoken of by the generic name the Choco.

When we first contacted the Waunana in 1946, the tribe already lacked true chiefs. The owner of the house closest to the headwaters of the river was known as "the owner of the river," but he had no real authority. The people lived in isolated, individual family houses or in small clusters of houses of blood relatives. The houses were scattered, sometimes with hours of canoe travel between them. They hunted, fished, raised bananas, plantains, and maize. The Choco of Colombia were at subsistence level. Marriage was usually river exogamous and marriage residence began with the bride's parents. After the birth of the first child, however, the excuse to show the child to the paternal grandparents became the occasion for a permanent move to the young man's home river. The only authority figures in the tribe were the shaman-healers, and the healing seances of these healers were the most visible expression of their appeal to the supernatural. We were told that at one time in the past they had annually conducted a praying session to Ewandama, 'God', but that no one practiced it anymore. Then in 1952 extremely heavy rains at the height of the rainy season caused extensive flooding. This revived a fear that the world was coming to an end. The Waunana thus organized a praying ceremony at which the sins of the people would be confessed and at which they would appeal to Ewandama to save them from destruction by the flood. The ceremony was to be held on the Siguirusua River, some four days travel away. An invitation to attend this praying session provided us with the occasion for giving a first Christian message to the Waunana in their own language (Loewen 1961). However, before this significant event could be followed up, the Colombian government arranged a concordat which assigned all of the Choco Indians in Colombia to the Roman Catholic church as their exclusive domain for "civilization and evangelization." When the Colombian parliament, however, did not immediately ratify this agreement, we kept on hoping that it would soon be declared invalid. It was, in fact, never ratified, but for the next ten years the Colombian government operated as if it had been ratified. This closing door led us to seek contact with the Empena in Panama. In 1957 we thus arranged with the two missions -- the Foursquare church and the New Tribes Mission, both of whom were interested in working with the Empena -- *to visit the Empena in the Darien region of Panama* together with their representatives as part of an overall investigation of the Choco dialect scene. The six-week visit to this area confirmed our feeling that culturally we were in a more or less identical milieu even though there were some major linguistic differences between the two languages. The outstanding difference between the two cultures was that in Panama the Empena were part of the local market economy in which they sold bananas and plantains every ten days for shipment to New York.

2. The Socio-Cultural Milieu at the Time of the Intervention

In Colombia the Waunana were feeling acute land pressure. The "libres" (mestizos and Negroes) were taking away their land. Even though there were no fixed reserves, certain rivers had traditionally been accepted as being Indian territory, but now as the libres were multiplying, they were grabbing more and more Indian-held land. This often began with the request of a favor for a one-season planting, but once a crop had been planted, this gave the outsider a reason to return. Very soon it developed into permanent appropriation. The most frequent request by the Waunana to the mission during those early years was help to protect their land rights.

The great social event among the Waunana was the chupata. This was one of the traditional moralnets because an extended family would prepare a vast amount of sugar-cane liquor and then send out a general invitation to all the people on neighboring rivers for a drinking festival. Everyone was welcome to celebrate as long as the liquor and the food lasted. Generally, it was the host who provided the liquor and the visitors who brought most of the food. However, the heavy drinking also brought out into the open animosities about land, women, crop damages, and the usual range of interpersonal problems. As the traditional social control network to handle these problems broke down, this supposedly socially reinforcing group event became more and more destructive because it began to function as the venue for revenge poisonings which were interpreted as sorcery. It was a "catch-22" situation. If a person known to have enemies stayed away from a chupata at which someone died, he would be thought of as the most likely perpetrator of the sorcery; but if he did attend the celebration, his drink might be laced with poison by his enemies. Furthermore, the increasing availability of commercial liquor and home distilled liquor increased the speed, the incidence, and the severity of the drunkenness and the accompanying violence. I counted twelve deaths over a four-year period after one anthropologist performed an experiment with two cases of whiskey "to test the severity of interfamily rivalry" on the San Juan River.

The negative influence of the chupata also began to have its effects upon the nuclear family. The traditional tribal rule was that men drank and women watched over their men, and when the latter got too drunk, the women rolled them into the canoe and took them out of harm's way; but now with distilled liquor things were much more difficult. Strong guarapo, 'sugar-cane wine', "killed you" only eventually and then suddenly. Distilled liquor, on the other hand, "turned your head" already after a few drinks, but it didn't "kill you." When the wives then tried to do their duty and take their husbands home, the latter were still too much aware and refused to leave. As the wives insisted, the husbands became abusive and began to beat their wives. Then brothers and fathers of the abused women joined the fight on behalf of their sisters and daughters. The net result was an increasingly vicious cycle of violence, tension and alienation.

There also were educational pressures. At numerous times the government had attempted to establish schools in Indian communities, but none of these had survived. They had failed either because the teachers left on their own or they were chased out because of some cultural offence which they had perpetrated. Attempts to attend school together with the libres had resulted in the overall discouraging assessment that Indian children were stupid. The only way out the parents now saw was to give their children either to the Catholics or to the Protestants to be sent away from home into boarding-school settings, but usually this resulted in the children becoming lost to their tribal culture. All of these pressures together began to precipitate a kind of end-of-the-world syndrome. Concerned people were having visions and miraculous encounters with deceased ancestors who warned the living of a second deluge that was coming to wipe out the evil which was contaminating the world. As already indicated earlier, when the rains in 1952 were unusually heavy and were accompanied by greater than usual floods, the Waunana revived the old flood-stopping prayer ceremony called heeuhem.

After the initial contact of the Mennonite Brethren with the Waunana Indians in 1946, nearly five years elapsed before the mission actually made it possible for the missionaries to dedicate themselves to the learning of the Indian tribal language. During the intervening years we missionaries had learned a lot about the Indian culture, we had often been able to help them medically, and the Indians had attended some of the church services which the mission held for the Spanish-speaking libres, but except for the group decision on the Sigirusua River which the concordat made impossible to follow up, there never was any formal Protestant church effort launched among the Waunana (Loewen 1961). However, strong bonds of friendship and confidence had been built as a result of the help given in land struggles, the healings experienced through the dispensary, and the many personal relationships that had been established. Thus when the concordat was arranged in 1953, one of the most obvious purposes of its implementation was to sever all liaisons and all contacts between the Protestant missionaries and the Waunana. To achieve this end the new missionaries did not hesitate to use a heavy hand. Thus the Waunana found themselves trapped and helpless in the Protestant-Catholic conflict. For example, after we had been forced to leave, my teacher in the Waunana language came under pressure. He finally compromised by giving the state church a son who had already received elementary education from the Protestants. However, the son dropped out of priesthood training after only one and a half years. If the reports of the Indians are to be believed, they say that the new state-church missionaries gave up the Indian parents as irretrievably heretical and they then proceeded to take away their young children in order to put them into church-operated boarding schools where they could educate them without parental influence. The parents who opposed putting their children into these boarding schools were threatened with loss of land, and when the land was actually taken away, they were denied legal recourse. The result was a mass exodus of the Waunana from the rivers where they had traditionally lived. They stole their own children from the boarding school and then fled into unoccupied areas of the Darien jungles.

Like the Waunana, the Empena in Panama also experienced land pressure. This was especially true in unprotected areas like the Jaque River. The Sambu River was a relatively protected area since local government administrators insisted that the area was the reserve of Indians. Since the Jaque River was right next to the Colombian border, it was subject to greater than average pressures. Because of the possibility of entering the market economy, many Panamanian and even immigrant Colombian libres were using every means -- fair or otherwise -- to get a toehold on Indian-held land. The absence, or at least the lesser severity of the banana disease in the area, the quality of the plantain which the region produced, and the established market possibilities were making the Indian lands increasingly desirable. A person with fifteen to twenty cabuya (a cabuya is about a thousand banana plants) could expect to earn some two hundred to three hundred dollars each cutting every ten days. Furthermore, the surveying for the Panamerican highway suggested that the headwaters of the river, which were controlled by the Indians, would become valuable land once the highway had been built.

The profitable banana and plantain sales also had a negative effect on Indian families. Husbands generally became hooked on hard liquor and often did not sober up until their entire take from the banana sales was in some tavern owner's pocket. Usually the women and children were left at home, while the men took their overloaded canoes downriver to the market. Since husbands spent all they earned on hard liquor, the women didn't even get the piece of cloth for a wrap-around skirt, or the couple of pounds of sugar they expected as a reward for their part in the family effort of raising bananas and plantains. The result was that relations between husbands and wives were severely strained.

Furthermore, with paid labor at a premium, a man would thus enlist ever younger sons to help him move his produce to the market. The result was that even sub-teenage boys were becoming drunks. On my first visit to the town of Jaque at the mouth of the river by the same name, this little town of about two hundred people boasted seven taverns, each with its own light plant, public address system and juke box. During the banana-cutting days it was an island of lights and noise. In the Panamanian setting, however, where the drinking took place within the context of a village of libres, a very troubling dimension was added to the drinking. The Indians desperately wanted to be accepted by the larger society. Thus when libres volunteered to be their friends if the Indians would buy drinks for them, the latter, of course, complied. Then the Indian drank and drank until he was penniless. When he came to, his would-be friends informed him that while he had been drinking with them, he had promised to give them parcels of his land. While he himself had no recall of saying these words, there always were an ample number of other libres who were willing to affirm that he had said just that. It definitely was a catch-22 situation. Should an Indian not drink or should he resist buying drinks for the libres who claimed to be his friends, the latter would ridicule him mercilessly as a savage who did not know how to behave among civilized people (Loewen 1966:102-4).

This drinking also increased intra-tribal tensions. Because people from several tributaries brought their bananas to the port on market days, it often brought together people who were enemies. As these people began to feel their liquor, they also began to abuse each other verbally. Egged on by libres who were seeing this as entertainment, verbal abuse soon gave way to physical violence and even death.

In Panama, the Empena had another "thorn in their flesh." Their traditional enemies, the Cuna, had not only succeeded in getting a land reserve from the Panamanian government, they had actually gotten their chiefs and their secretaries on the government payroll (Puig n.d.; Stout 1948:257-268). It was especially galling for the Choco to see a people toward whom they felt themselves to be superior in war, now enjoying advantages that were being denied them.

Thus like the Waunana, the Empena too were beginning to think increasingly of some imminent world-ending disaster. In fact, during the 1956 visit I was able to observe at firsthand the development of such a wave of fear. A missionary played a tape recording on which he had dubbed individual Bible stories one after another with only a moment of silence between them. However, the Indians experienced them as a unit. They heard the demons leaving the demon-possessed man and entering into two thousand pigs who then rushed down the mountainside. The next thing they knew, there were people in a boat who were desperately crying because the waves were threatening to drown them. Then out of the storm these people were thrown into a fiery furnace where a king tried to burn them. These stories had been recorded without design and as said, with only a moment of silence between them. Furthermore, they were accompanied by such realistic sound effects: of pigs gurgling as they fell into the water and drowned, of the storm blowing and waves splashing into the boat, of the disciples screaming in desperation, and the fire was crackling so realistically that the people who heard this message could only interpret it one way, namely, that it was a message of the coming end of the world. The panic among the Indians was so severe that they stopped cutting bananas, and banana merchants finally petitioned the government to forbid missionaries to frighten the Indians any further (Loewen 1964a:51).

3. The Developments in the Socio-Cultural Milieu that Prepared the Way for Participant Intervention

It will be impossible within the allotted space here to give a full account of these events; we will thus limit ourselves to a series of "snapshots" to highlight the principal events.

(a) The concordat cut us off from our traditional mission-station approach in which we had largely become trapped in Colombia. This severance provided us, as it were, with a chance to begin over again. Maybe even more significant was the fact that when the mission decided not to relocate its Colombian Indian work into Panama, we were forced to begin outside of the established procedures of a mission.

(b) The dialect survey had culminated in the preparation of a series of Bible stories with suggestions for adaptations in each of the dialect areas (Loewen 1959b). When F. Glenn Prunty, then of the New Tribes Mission, prepared a version in the Sambu dialect and played it as a tape recording for some people on the Jaque River, a number of those hearing the message, including Aureliano Sabugara, decided "that they too wanted to give God the hand and walk on his road" so that the latter might free them from demon-drink and save them from the destruction of the world that was coming (Loewen 1966).

(c) When the violent uprooting in the aftermath of the concordat threw together Waunana families from many rivers, including people from the Siguirusua River, the impact of that first message from Edwandama in their own language began to spread to people from other rivers. When word reached these refugees that Jacob and David (actually they spoke about us in terms of our nicknames Tiger and Watin) were now working in Panama, a large segment of the refugees decided to migrate en masse to Panama and to become "evangelicals."

(d) The fact that the mission had decided not to relocate its Colombian mission into Panama but instead to help the other two interested missions to divide the territory between themselves, now made it impossible to begin a traditional resident-missionary type of program -- there was no mission field available. This led to a series of short-term visits, at first arranged to help the missions who assumed the responsibility, and later when the latter did not accept the people's movement (Mead 1956, Wallace 1956) that resulted, to help the young church in its ongoing development.

(e) The first of such short-term interventions was the literacy program in 1959. The missions that had accepted the responsibility of the work with the Empena in Panama invited my partner and me to engage in a literacy experiment with the Empena people. As indicated earlier, all previous government efforts to educate the Indians had failed. Efforts to integrate them in school with the children of libres had likewise failed and had given rise to the discouraging feeling that the Indians could not learn to read Spanish even though most males spoke it. When asked why they could not learn to read Spanish, their stock answer was: "Es que somos muy brutos," It's because we are so stupid. The literacy experiment was designed to prove otherwise. It involved embedding the entire syllabary of the Spanish language in a series of primers ostensibly designed to teach the Empena to read their own language. The electrifying result was that the Indians discovered they could learn to read Spanish "without even trying," because after they had mastered the initial skills of learning to read their own language, they were able to read the books which had been borrowed for them from the local Spanish school (Loewen [and Vargas] 1963a, Loewen 1965c).

(f) The above event had a sequel. During a break in the literacy sessions, one of the first literates, Aureliano Sabugara, asked: "Tiger, which is the road to your house?" The answer to that question really boiled down to the price of an airfare between Panama and Hillsboro, Kansas where I was then teaching. When Aureliano heard the sum involved, he exclaimed: "I can easily find that money in two or three banana cuttings now that God has killed my drinking habit!" And he did just that. He came to Hillsboro in the summer of 1960. The result of six weeks of intensive exposure to church activities, extending from liturgical settings to inner city rescue missions, was the birth of a prophet who had a vision to share the good news with his own people. In our efforts to expose him to people of other cultures who shared his newly found value system, we invited foreign students from several cultures to our house for prayer sessions. After one such prayer session in which each member of the group had prayed in his own native language -- there was no common language among them all -- Aureliano philosophized that "one is more family with people from other cultures who follow the same road than one is with people from one's own culture who follow different roads." The exposure to different church settings was designed to help him locate models that might be meaningful for the church in his home setting. On a second visit to the Wichita rescue mission he was asked to speak. He gave a moving testimony about his slavery to and ultimate release from hard liquor. When a number of men, moved by his warm personal testimony, came to the altar requesting help, he was overwhelmed. On the way home he wondered aloud: "Do you mean to say that my words had the power to make these people ask God for help?" This was possibly the occasion when he first realized that he might be able to function as a prophet for his own people (Loewen 1962).

The visit had an additional benefit. Wirsche and Loewen received an invitation to make a return visit to Panama the following summer (Loewen 1964d).

(g) Our ejection from the Colombian field had provided the opportunity for both Wirsche and myself to continue our education in anthropology. This had broadened our understanding of culture and culture change, and especially had introduced us to the Vicos project. We have already retold the encounter with Allan R. Holmberg in Mexico City in which he pointed out the importance of the change of value system and the necessity for an extended period of time to establish any new behavior patterns in a cultural milieu.

Thus in 1962 David Wirsche (deceased in 1975) and I decided to make a twenty-five-year commitment (beginning in 1959) to stand by the Iglesia Evangelica Unida (hereafter IEU) in its development. We felt that if the program of culture change were to succeed, someone would have to provide overall continuity. In the interim the mission, for example, has had at least five different general secretaries, each with a differing approach.

There have also been a number of short-term and longer-term workers who have helped in the development of this project. Among them are F. Glenn Prunty, liaison; John and Jan Goertz, Bible teaching and education; Herta Voth, medical; Jim Harrison, education; Annie Dyck, Bible teaching; Harold and Helen Ens, education and business coordination; Randy Heinrichs, building; Laverne Pratts, agriculture, Miriam Janzen, music. Others who have made contributions of several weeks in Bible, music, women's classes, etc., are too numerous to mention.

4. The Principles and Ideals which Underlay our Long-range Intervention Commitment

Our personal contribution in the literacy experiment had opened the door for us to become culture brokers. The fact that we were returning to Panama, not as people who were seeking an audience, but as invited guests, put our relationship on a totally different plane. However, before we list the ideals it is only honest to admit that not all the ideals here mentioned were fully conscious in our minds at the beginning. We became aware of them piecemeal over the years, and in many instances it was the Choco people themselves who were creative enough to express their need. Our principles and ideals were drawn at least from four sources:

(a) Anthropological Studies. Our anthropological studies had made us aware: (1) of the whole-man approach, one not restricted to a limited set of religious values; (2) of culture as a structure and the fact that meaningful change needed a strong cultural framework within which to succeed, first of all, for resocializing adults and for socializing the next generation according to the new values; (3) of the existence of the role of culture broker. By culture broker we understood the following: (i) Being a mirror in determining real felt needs. Often the first expressed need is really a blind alley: e.g., acquiring trade goods to become a first-class person. (ii) Being a source of alternatives when a person or group stands before an impasse: e.g., when the first effort to send children to a boarding school in Panama failed, the alternatives proposed were to choose a different school, to choose different children or both, to start a private school with a missionary teacher, to start a government school with a Panamanian teacher, to train an Indian adult so he could become a teacher of Indian children. (iii) Serving as a catalyst. Even when a group is aware that a change needs to be made, frequently it needs an outside catalyst to set the change in motion. The contribution in this area has been most important in terms of seeing that the IEU conventions actually took place and that the IEU leadership dealt with certain crisis situations. (iv) Functioning as a source of reference. When other missions and churches began to offer scholarships and tried "to buy" into the program, the brokers had to interpret what strings might be attached to such offers. (v) Being a friend of the court. When the IEU made some wrong decisions, such errors in judgment could be discussed openly without recrimination (Loewen 1964a & b).

(b) The Moralnet. The label moralnet follows Raoul Naroll. My late partner and I usually spoke of socializing contexts, social support systems, and a religious value base. The moralnet as used by Naroll is thus a convenient shorthand for the major concepts which have been cornerstones in our efforts at cultural brokerage in Choco culture change (Naroll 1983).

(c) Communication Studies. (1) Our studies in communication made us aware of how a face-to-face society communicates. These basic principles have been effectively summarized by E.A. Nida: (i) effective communication must be based upon personal friendship; (ii) the initial approach should be to those who can effectively pass on the communication within their family groupings; (iii) time must be allowed for internal diffusion of new ideas; and (iv) the challenge for any change of belief or action must be addressed to persons or groups socially capable of making such decisions (Nida 1960 p. 110).

(2) They made us aware of reciprocity, that we had as much to learn from the Choco Indians as we had to teach them (Loewen 1964b).

(3) They made us aware that the value of a message is related to the degree to which it meets felt needs (Loewen 1967a, 1969a:202).

(4) They made us aware that short-term interventions related to felt need are better than a resident culture broker because such short stays prevent him from becoming a ball-carrying forward in a change program. The absences allow irrelevant things that culture brokers inevitably introduce, to die, and they automatically limit the flow of new information so as to allow adequate time for absorption and adaptation.

(d) Indigenous Church Studies. Our growing awareness of how indigenous churches function made us aware:

(1) That decision making and all assets should be firmly in the hands of the young church from the beginning.

(2) That a young church has a need to generate its own information. It should not have to depend without end on an outsider's input.

(3) That the participant interventionist must always work toward his own obsolescence.

5. Moralnet Development in Choco Culture Change

The moralnet developments in the two tribal settings, while showing many similarities, still took somewhat different routes because of their differing circumstances. Furthermore, among the Empena we need to separate the developments of the IEU from those of the Foursquare Mission church on the Sambu River.

The New Church as a Moralnet among the Empena. We have already cited the international prayer experience in North America that probably triggered in Aureliano the awareness that an intimate religious community could become a moralnet which their disintegrating Choco society badly needed. In retrospect we can list the following moralnet functions which the church exercised:

(1) It provided a forum for public discussion of problems in a more relaxed and religiously sanctioned atmosphere. During our 1961 visit the IEU had a celebration at which pigs were killed and bags of rice were gathered for a big feast. As they were getting ready to kill the pigs, Aureliano was just making a tape recording for my absent wife in which he called to her attention the screaming pig, saying: "Ana, listen to that noise, the people are getting ready to celebrate a big feast. Everybody will come and eat, no one will get drunk and there will be no fear, only happiness and fellowship" (Loewen 1969a).

(2) It served as a venue for resolving interpersonal tensions in the community by means of confession and

forgiveness. At one crisis point in the church, people arriving for worship found all the benches lined up against the outside wall of the church building. The leader had everyone kneel facing the wall and then encouraged them to voice their problems individually and then to listen to the explanations given by the accused. The meeting ended in confession and mutual forgiveness (Loewen 1969b, 1970).

(3) It provided support in learning new role behavior during resocialization that followed the individual's conversion. During one of my visits I saw an IEU member roaring drunk. When I remarked about it, I was told to be patient. "We are helping him," they said, "because his conversion has not yet reached his stomach. Once it does, he will vomit and he won't be able to drink liquor anymore" (Loewen 1968c, 1969a).

(4) It became a functional substitute for the shaman-healer. About the time the IEU came into existence, a group of Christian doctors serving with the U.S. Army in the Canal Zone organized a Christian Medical Association which made periodic flights into the Choco region to deal with medical problems there. Because everyone was vaccinated, dewormed, and each church had a stock of the most commonly needed drugs, the incidence of illness dropped sharply. Furthermore, with or without medicine, the church elders anointed the sick with oil and prayed over them (Loewen 1967b.) Worship services were not a matter of an hour, they usually were a weekend of two or three days. The first morning was usually spent in taking care of all the complaints of illnesses and in giving medicine to those who required it. More recently the church has become involved in establishing health clinics in each of the IEU centers. Such health clinics will be staffed by a government-trained health promoter who will have a small stock of medicine provided by the government or other sources which are making medicines available to the IEU. In general one can say that especially because the church often had radio contact with the capital, whenever there were emergencies they were able to help arrange plane transport for people who required emergency hospitalization. At present the church operates seven health posts with two government-paid promoters. Fifteen more health promoters have been

trained and two are in training now, possibly even the first trained nurse and the first trained Choco doctor are in sight. They are in school and one hopes for the best.

The shift from shaman-healer to church-involved healing has not been easy as can be seen in the testimony of the man who kept a transient shaman for night (Loewen 1963b:98).

The Christian village of the Foursquare church at Boca Savalo was also organized around a functional substitute for a shaman-healer, namely, a missionary faith healer. When he became excited, he had a very raspy breath and his name among the people was "the man who heals with his breath." As long as this missionary was in the village and provided protection against the shamans whom he had antagonized, this village grew; but when the missionary was transferred out of the country, the Christian village and the church he had started soon began to disintegrate.

Finally, the very existence of the IEU charter, which gives the Choco church a bona fide legal identity on the basis of which it can deal with other organizations including the government, has strengthened tribal identity and cohesiveness and has given both tribes confidence that they can negotiate with the world around them.

The charter of the IEU speaks of concern in the following areas: religious, social, educational, medical and economic. One of the attractions to the Empena groups outside of the church today is precisely the fact that this personeria juridica gives the IEU a recognized voice -- something that the artificially contrived chieftain hierarchy mentioned elsewhere has never achieved. The charter has proven to be a workable, larger in-group identity builder.

The New Church as a Moralnet among the Waunana. As already indicated, the Waunana moved to Panama in extended family groups with the express intent of becoming "evangelicals." When the Empena "alphabetized and evangelized" them, they responded en masse. Since they were landless, the Empena offered them land on which they could settle permanently. As a result several Waunana villages were established on the Jaque River. Later other Waunana groups found uninhabited areas in other regions of the Darien and got local government permission to squat there.

It is interesting to note that the Waunana provide another illustration of a fact that has already been noted by E. A. Nida and D. McGavran, namely, that migration makes people more ready to change religion. Of course, this fact also has its counterpart in the Bible: Abraham began to worship a new God Yahwe as soon as he occupied the new land (Genesis 12). Forced immigrants to northern Israel, after the ten tribes had been carried off into captivity, had to learn to worship the God of the place in order to escape the marauding lions against which their imported deities seemed to be of no avail (2 Kings 18).

In the Waunana setting the church performed the following moralnet functions:

(1) First, it became the nucleus of the villages they established in the new land. The desire to educate their children was so strong that the Waunana were willing to abandon their traditional life style of isolated houses to live in villages in order to make this possible. Thus the church and school (often the same building) became the focal point around which the newly literate believers built their residences in village style. Several of the early school buildings were financed by U.S.A.I.D. which was encouraging local communities to do communal work, while it provided the building materials. Those who could not get in on this program often used the mission's policy of providing a tin roof, if believers built the rest of the church building.

(2) Secondly, the church community became a moralnet in economic survival. Since the Waunana had left their places of residence in Colombia and had actually wandered as refugees over a period of months or years, they arrived in Panama relatively destitute; thus an additional motivation for them to establish villages was sheer survival necessity. Since they lacked the necessary local plantations, it was crucial that they should share

any food they might find. In addition they shared canoes, or sometimes, especially when large distances were involved, a group even bought and shared an outboard motor for transportation for the whole community.

(3) Thirdly, the church became a substitute for the traditional shaman-healer. As with the Empena, the Waunana Christian community at first depended wholly on the services of the Christian Medical Association from the Canal Zone. They did not even allow indigenous healers to settle in their newly organized Christian villages. The communal outboard motor, mentioned earlier, often served to transport patients to a medical center or to make a trip to purchase medicine for someone who was ill (Loewen 1973). Later the church relaxed this policy of excluding shaman-healers, but not without its accompanying tensions (Loewen 1973).

(4) Next, the church functioned as a mechanism for receiving and controlling messages from the supernatural. For details, see the beginnings of the Waunana New Testament translation and the part of the church community played in it (Loewen 1974).

(5) Finally, the church functioned as a moralnet in education. Since the two groups were thrown together in Panama City already with the second batch of adult education candidates, we will discuss the moralnet function of the church in education for the two groups conjointly.

6. The Church as a Moralnet in Education

The education effort began when the newly organized church among the Empena in El Mamey in 1961 expressed its first felt need, namely, they wanted education for their children. This first attempt, to send two first graders to a Christian boarding school in Panama City, failed, but the culture brokers became a source of alternatives and this led to a new approach, namely, to send an adult to get education so that he could become the teacher of the children in their home community (Loewen 1964a). In contrast to the first effort with small children, a second effort to send an adult to Panama

City to get adult education was a resounding success. The capital city's newspapers and TV Panama gave the first Choco graduate wide coverage. When the Minister of Education named this first graduate "promoter of education" for the school established at El Mamey, this school became the nucleus of an Empena village.

The next batch of adult education candidates were one newly married couple and a group of younger single males. This group turned out to be a near fiasco. Since the group was living alone in a rented house in Panama City, the individuals suddenly found themselves facing lottery, movies, all the available store goods and prostitution, in which they had no cultural experience. It is not surprising that they got sidetracked and began to fail in their studies. It was only after a moralnet of older individuals was introduced that students just out of primary school were able to cope with the temptations of city living. Jim and Betty Harrison, who tried to give external support to this first larger group, tell of endless frustrations. The reason, of course, was that the individuals did not have inner control and there was no external moralnet to support them.

As a result the church soon learned to make a more careful selection of candidates. Succeeding groups were thus established couples, and as a group they were encouraged to form their own "committed community." Later when the church again began sending unmarried students, they always placed an older, already educated couple to serve as parents-en-loco for the unmarried students.

The screening of candidates today is usually done in two stages, first, by the committee before the convention, and then in public interrogation at the convention itself. Further, they must make a commitment to serve the community after the completion of their studies. As suggested, each center has at least one mature couple in residence to serve as parent-substitutes. Those who take the same courses or those who attend the same school are encouraged to organize as groups in order to develop friend-families and moralnets. If necessary, the parent-substitutes counsel with the individual student personally or they communicate with the student's parents.

As the student body grew rapidly, it soon became apparent that the small center in Panama City would not be able to handle all the candidates and that lower levels of education should be taken care of closer to home. This led to the establishment of several education centers. Currently there are four such centers: the original center in the Juan Diaz section of Panama City, and an even larger center at Yavisa in the Darien -- both built with CIDA involvement, a smaller center at La Palma built with financial aid from Canal Zone residents, and an individual-family owned complex at Jaque built with government disaster funds after the earthquake tore up the upper region of the Jaque River in 1974.

In the course of the education effort some students failed, but on the whole most did well. The majority graduated and some even with honors. In time, as each community got its own promoter-teacher, the emphasis of the student centers shifted from adult elementary education to secondary education, trades and various specializations; but the church has continued to select the candidates and to seek finances for their support, and to provide help in their adjustment in the school setting.

The original dream of a step-by-step plan for building an educational system involved training enough promoters of education by means of adult education to supply all communities with promoter-teachers, and then training the best of these in the first cycle of secondary school to become third-class teachers. Eventually, when the number of third-class teachers increased, some of the latter would then complete the second cycle of secondary school or normal school until they met the requirements for becoming fully certified teachers. It was hoped that by the end of the twenty-five-year period, in addition to having enough certified teachers, there would also be at least one university graduate who might help train teachers in normal school. However, when in 1972 the government realized that it had a surplus of certified teachers, this whole program had to be aborted. The result was that in some cases church communities, in order to have education for their own children, now had to hire their own promoter-teacher.

Since promoters of education and third-class teachers are no longer functional in Panama, there has been a sharp decrease in the age of the student body. Adult education is now limited to trades, business and health services. The majority of the students are regular secondary school or normal school students who are continuing their studies after finishing primary school. Today there are 56 primary schools, 21 Choco teachers, 17 certified teachers, 150 first-cycle secondary school graduates (current enrollment 300), 40 second-cycle secondary school graduates (current enrollment 80), 17 normal school graduates (current enrollment 16), 18 commercial school graduates, 5 university students, and 3 students studying abroad. To date, about 25 students have completed six- to twelve-month courses in trades and agriculture. Currently there are more than 18 in such training. The Panama City center has various kinds of office machines on which students can practice and there are also persons at the center who can help them in their various programs.

In addition to formal education there have been various home and community programs. A wide variety of short-term culture brokers have helped solve school problems, have provided remedial tutoring, and have helped with village and city living problems. They have also provided training in sewing, making their own patterns for clothes, the use of charcoal irons, clothes care and clothes storage, etc.

7. Moralnet Development in IEU Leadership

The IEU began under the aegis of a prophet, but this prophet was eventually attracted to the national political scene and so dropped out of the church leadership. The second leader, also a prophetic individual, but a little less charismatic, Chindia Pena, continued his education into university, but by the second year there he felt himself having grown so far away from his own people (and possibly from his wife) that he dropped out of university and went back to his home river in Colombia. This fallout of the prophet-type leaders could have been fatal had not the church constitution required that the leadership roster be periodically reviewed and filled by election. The candidates to fill these vacant slots were now increasingly drawn from the growing number of educated younger men who had lived together in church-operated centers during the years of their education. At these centers they had learned to establish moralnet communities, and as a result they gradually converted the original individualistic but charismatic type of leadership to the more collective and more democratic type they had developed during their own student days.

The entire current leadership of the IEU is made up of people who were fellow students. The fact that Waunana and Empena were fellow students together also made it possible for the Waunana majority to elect an Empena as president of the IEU.

8. Some Moralnet Crises and Subsequent New Moralnet Developments

The first moralnet crisis for both tribes developed out of the new pattern of village living which the establishment of schools produced. It involved premarital sex. Traditionally premarital sex had been an integral part of courtship, for sexual compatability was considered to be of high importance. The traditional control over premarital sex had been largely geographical. Since their houses were widely scattered, the sudden appearance of a painted-up young man was fully understood. If parents approved of the young man, he was allowed to "sneak" into the girl's sleeping net during the night. If they did not approve, they found ways of preventing it. However, in village living, and especially with teenagers of both sexes being together in school, new avenues for trysts which were beyond parental control sprang up like mushrooms.

Even today the IEU leadership refuses to condemn premarital sex as such, they only condemn its promiscuous use. It probably was the inability of the group to control this epidemic of sex among their children that caused the breakup of the thriving religious community at Boca Savalo. I observed how parents cried as they made up their mind to go back to the river and back to their animistic religion because they saw promiscuous daughters as the greater evil.

To date IEU communities have developed two patterns to control this type of premarital promiscuity.

Among the Waunana some villages have organized traffic routes; thus, the routes which girls use to get water are forbidden areas for boys. Some villages have even established a constabulary patterned after the Panamanian National Guard to police these community routing patterns.

At El Mamey village the Empena have tried to handle the problem by separating their houses with at least a five- to ten-minute walk between them. This seems to be an attempt to preserve at least a semblance of the original geographic control over premarital sex.

A second moralnet crisis developed for the Waunana when the "believer" villages gradually became diluted by "nonbeliever" relatives who one by one were allowed to take up residence in these villages. The tension in these villages revolved around either the organization of chupatas which everyone was expected to attend, or the intervention of shamans in the healing of the sick.

On the handling of the dilution of believer villages by nonbelievers we can report at least two developments: (a) The IEU is learning to live with shaman-healers. (See Chindia's encounter with his shaman-healer father over the healing of a woman with a thorn in her foot [Loewen 1973], On a church-shaman encounter among the Empena see Loewen 1966:108.) (b) In order to reach community consensus on acceptable public behavior some communities have resorted to an all-community method of Bible study. A church person tells a Bible story and then asks nonchurch people in the community for pre-Christian Waunana stories of a similar kind. After discussing the Waunana stories and the Bible stories, the group tries to reach consensus on any moral judgments that might be involved. The result has been that often nonchurch people have agreed to pass judgement on certain kinds of behavior unacceptable to church people. This has led to the abandoning of the chupata approach in many villages, even in those in which only a portion of the residents are church people.

More recently a third moralnet problem growing out of village living has made itself felt, namely, marital breakups. In the former pattern of isolated living, both spouses had little chance of liaisons with outside partners. Now with village living, even for those with a five-minute distance between houses, the possibility of outside contact has become a lot easier. The result was a request by the IEU for a culture broker to help them analyze the situation and to assist them in developing moralnets to protect their marriages. Thus during a two-week seminar in 1981 the group discussed marriage as a basic, human institution that predates religion. They looked at many cultural models for stabilizing marriages, such as gift exchanges (money or items that must be returned by relatives when a marriage breaks up), godparents of marriage (a Quechua-Aymara adaptation that adds godparents of marriage to godparents of baptism; this means that ideally there are eight married couples who provide a moralnet to prevent the dissolution of a given marriage), marriage contracts (from the North American scene). It was the latter approach that appealed to the IEU church people. During the course of the seminar they surveyed husbands and wives in regard to the things that they demanded from and offered to their spouses. The survey showed that husbands demanded twelve things from their wives fairly unanimously; but they offered only five things in return, and that without any kind of consensus. Several of the items were offered only by one or two husbands. Wives demanded four things and offered four things. It quickly became obvious that husbands may need to offer more and require less. In the end the seminar decided that pastors should remain with preaching so that they would not be accused of taking sides in marital disputes. Then the churches were instructed to appoint marriage-counselling deacons and to open a marriage contract book in which couples who wanted to get married must file their mutual demands and offers. Should such a marriage later develop problems, then the counselling deacons should counsel the couple on the basis of their contract in the book. Furthermore, should couples married without a contract later develop marital difficulties, they would be asked to write their contract in the marriage book as part of the counselling.

Traditionally parents have seldom been involved in marital stability. Only if a woman ran away from her husband's river without any major reason, did parents sometimes apply pressure for her to return. Feeling the need for a greater parental support of marriages, the church is now putting forth efforts to teach parents how to help stabilize their children's marriages.

Currently only one or two leaders like Chindia have expressed awareness that the differential of education between men and women is soon going to become an additional source of marital tension. The proposed solution that wives of students on scholarship also be expected to attend some kind of study program is being encouraged, but only few individual wives have availed themselves of this opportunity.

9. Conclusion

The twenty-five-year commitment matures in 1984. I conclude this paper by proposing a checklist that could be used by both insiders and outsiders who may be interested in evaluating Choco moralnet strengths and weaknesses. The list here presented is drawn from Naroll (1983:377-408), but the items have been adapted to parameters of this paper.

(1) The strength of the individual's ties to the moralnet. So far, the fact that religious decisions have generally been made by whole families has given the individual family member considerable support in religion and culture change. Furthermore, the ability of the church to provide valid baptismal certificates and to perform legal marriages has been a strong attraction.

(2) Emotional warmth and support gained from the moralnet by the individual. Eating together, singing and dancing together have made both church services and conventions times of warmth and rejoicing. To date there have been eleven (now annual) conventions, the last one having more than 400 delegates.

(3) Economic support received from the moralnet by the individual. At present most of the church's financial support for the individual has come in the form of scholarships, help to purchase medicines, and there have been a number of marketing and purchasing ventures. There currently are fifty students at Yavisa and twenty in Panama City who get some help toward their education via the IEU.

(4) Political support provided by the moralnet for the individual. In politics in the past the Indians had usually divided their group equally between the soliciting parties, so that they would never get hurt by the outcome of a given election. When Prophet Sabugara went into politics he found that the traditional pattern outweighed church loyalty and his party got only its traditional share of votes.

(5) Cultural homogeneity of the moralnet. The convention has recently decided that in order to further tribal identity, the convention will in the future be conducted in both Indian languages rather than in Spanish.

(6) Frequency of moralnet reinforcing rituals. Probably the prayers, worship services, healing gatherings, funerals, Bible studies, annual conventions are frequent enough.

(7) Development of appealing and memorable charter myths. So far only the Bible functions in this capacity. Obviously more is needed.

(8) A workable ideology. The fact that the IEU church avoided wholesale importation of Western church rules and doctrines has helped them to develop a fairly workable, locally developed ideology.

(9) Reinforcement of moralnet ideology by external symbols. To my knowledge the IEU has not developed a badge or emblem to date. It is something that merits consideration.

(10) Reinforcing moralnet ideology by promptness of sanctions against deviation. If a community is

aroused enough, it usually acts promptly, but it seldom becomes aroused to that degree.

(11) Reinforcing moralnet ideology by increasing the probability of sanctions for deviation. The probability of sanction for deviation still remains very low, too low.

(12) Active gossip for shaming those who weaken or deviate from the moralnet ideal. While active gossip is being widely used for shaming people, it has already become apparent that the church will need a second mechanism to kill gossip when the latter has performed its task. Otherwise it persists and then becomes destructive. No satisfactory mechanism for the second has yet been developed.

(13) The development of small, intimate friend-family networks. Married students who have been in school together usually develop some very strong friend-family networks. How strong these networks will be when they return to their local communities needs to be observed.

(14) The development of specific problem-oriented self-help groups. Naroll uses this label to refer to groups like Alcoholics Anonymous, in which people band together to overcome special problems. Obviously there are special problems in the church community that might be solved this way, but no such group has been formally organized to our knowledge.

(15) Periodic, therapeutic encounters for leadership groups. Retreats for leaders in the IEU community have been held from time to time. Such retreats have done much for individual development and for establishing community among the leaders. The therapeutic function of the IEU for its members has been illustrated in the section discussing the new church as a moralnet for resolving interpersonal tensions.

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MISSIONARIES AND MOURNING: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE DEATH CEREMONIES OF A MELANESIAN PEOPLE

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INTRODUCTION

This article is concerned with the study of the death rituals of a Christian people in Papua New Guinea. I examine in particular the part played by missionaries and Christian values in the formation and transformation of these rituals. Christianity is a fact of most Melanesians' experience, yet it has almost never been regarded as a reputable object of study by ethnographers (but see Burridge 1969a). It is, however, central to the present day religious and moral systems of many Melanesian societies. Christian ideas and values become apparent in village church services, in millenarian movements, in national elections, in independent churches, and on countless informal and ritual occasions (see Barr and Trompf 1983, Trompf 1981). Impressions of Christianity may also be found deep within the domains of kinship, politics, and economics.

The assessment of the place of Christian elements in a particular cultural institution requires a broader approach than the kind usually found in ethnographic descriptions. In this article I examine Maisin death rituals within both historical and anthropological frameworks. I first discuss early missionary opposition to the rites, villagers' responses to this opposition, and some more recent changes. In the second part of the paper, I analyze the cultural significance of these various changes in terms of three themes integral to the mourning ceremonies: revaluation, transformation, and renewal.

SETTING

The Maisin people live in a series of beach villages along the southern shores of Collingwood Bay in Oro Province, Papua New Guinea. One of several small sociolinguistic groups living in Tufi District, Maisin today have a rural population of about 1200; 400 to 500 more live in urban centers. The Maisin are traditionally hunters, fishermen, gardeners and gatherers who for some time now have supplemented these subsistence activities with cash earned from sales of beautifully designed tapa cloth and remittances sent home by working relatives.

The first recorded outside contacts with the Maisin took place in the 1890's when Government officers, missionaries, prospectors and traders began to make their way up the northeast coast of Papua. In 1898 the New Guinea Mission of the Anglican Church of Australia established a district station at Wanigela, a village a few miles to the north of the Maisin. Two years later the Government located its district headquarters some 25 miles further to the north at Tufi on Cape Nelson. Beginning with the largest village of Uiaku in 1901, the Anglicans soon introduced schools and churches into the Maisin communities. Regular baptisms began in 1911. Today almost all adult Maisin have been baptized, most when they were infants.

Except for a brief period between 1917 and 1921 when a European priest was stationed at Uiaku, all of the missionaries who lived in Maisin villages were

Pacific Islanders - first Solomon Islanders and later Papuans (see Wetherell 1977). These teacher-evangelists, as they were called, were supervised by European priests residing at Wanigela until 1963, when the Maisin received their own Papuan priest. Today the Anglican Church is an independent Christian organization in Papua New Guinea; its staff has been almost entirely localized. As was the former Mission, the Anglican Church is an episcopacy, but much of the power previously held by bishops and district priests has devolved to parish priests and village church councils. In the older parishes, such as that of the Maisin, local people provide most if not all of the material and monetary support for the upkeep of Church property and the clergy. Through the activities of village church councils and women's organizations, local people have a much larger say than they used to in Church affairs.

Such introduced institutions as the church council, Mothers Union, and village council have undeniably become influential in Maisin community life since the end of the Second World War. But their roles are still somewhat limited to those concerns deemed by villagers to belong legitimately to the Government or the Church. On the other hand, as in most parts of Melanesia, kinship and exchange are of central importance to Maisin society as a whole. Relatives work together, share food freely with each other and, at times of formal exchanges, pitch in to help with money, food or traditional wealth items. There are no universally recognized "big men", although a man who is generous, cooperative and articulate will command the respect of his neighbors. Generally speaking, Maisin live in a society which prizes egalitarian principles.

In spite of more than 80 years experience of the pressures and opportunities heralded by the arrival of the first European missionaries, Government officers and businessmen, the Maisin villages retain a pristine "South Pacific" charm, perhaps in part because of their relative isolation from urban centers and roads. Maisin are very proud of their cultural traditions and have retained many in oral and ritual forms. Modern forces, notably the Mission, have colored these traditions just as - but to a much lesser extent - the local cultural environment has influenced the shape of Christian activities in Maisin villages.

MAISIN DEATH OBSERVANCES, PAST AND PRESENT

Traditional mourning rites

Melanesian mortuary rituals display a richness and diversity that is sometimes daunting to the student of these cultures. Traditional Maisin death rites shared a number of elements with many seaboard Melanesian cultures: burials within villages, destruction of some of the property of the deceased, self-mutilation by mourners, and severe restrictions upon widows and widowers (Codrington 1891, Fortune 1932, Hau'ofa 1981, Landtman 1927, Seligmann 1910). Of well-studied societies, the Orokaiva of central Oro Province display the largest number of common elements with the Maisin, notably the elaborate mourning costumes made of white and tawny "Job's Tears" seeds (Coix lachrimae) that were donned in the past by widows and widowers (Williams 1930). However, Maisin mortuary rituals combine these common elements in ways that distinguish the rites from those of even the closest neighbors in Collingwood Bay.[1] The configuration of mourning customs and ideas found in Maisin communities at the time of European contact would appear to have been the outcome of tribesmen's historical adjustments of locally evolved and borrowed elements to the local social organization (cf. Young 1971:232-33). The rituals have always been undergoing change, but for the purposes of this discussion the "traditional" death rites are described as they were performed during the first decade of extensive contact with Europeans between 1900 and 1910.

The traditional death observances of the Maisin can be conveniently divided into overlapping public and individual sequences. The following account by Percy John Money, the founder of the Uiaku mission station, describes the beginnings of the public phase of mourning.

> Upon the death of a person the conch-shell is blown to recall any of the tribe who may have gone to the gardens or away hunting. The

> relatives and friends go into the house and set up an indescribable wailing; all the village women assemble and join in the deafening din, whilst the men gather round and sit in little groups near the house. The women, when weeping, gash their temples with flakes of obsidian or pieces of shell, keeping time to the lament in this way; occasionally they leave off to beat their breasts or to go and cast themselves in the sea returning when almost exhausted to again take up the wail. The men talk of sorcery and debate as to who bewitched the deceased. The crying goes on for from 18 to 36 hours until the body is carried away to be buried. The relatives follow in its train and remain crying at the grave until nightfall, when they return home and continue the wailing, only in a more subdued tone (Money 1905).

Following the burial, the village men continued to gather in groups around the house of the deceased for two to four more days. They and their wives put aside all but the most basic needs for survival during this period. Early in the final day of public mourning, the village emptied as people dispersed into the bush and out to sea to gather food. At this time, a decorated warrior accompanied by a band of children took a small pot of food to the grave of the deceased. Dancing three times around the grave, the warrior then pointed his spear to show the dead person's ghost its "road", bidding it to take its food and leave the villagers and their gardens in good health. That afternoon, the village "put up the smoke" by cooking and sharing food, thus signalling the end of the first stage of public mourning. For a week to a month after this, rubbish was allowed to accumulate on the hamlet grounds around the deceased's house. On an appointed day, the women swept up this refuse and a second feast was held, ending the sequence of public mourning observances.

Turning now to individual observances, we find that any villager could mourn for a dead kinsman, but parents of a deceased unmarried child and widowed spouses had to conform to a number of mandatory restrictions.

These took their most extreme form in the case of widows (cf. Williams 1930:215ff.).

> The widow's mourning in New Guinea is very severe. When after the first paroxsyms of grief she comes outside the house where her husband lies buried (sic), she will be so exhausted by fasting and mourning, that a woman is needed on each side of her for support. She will suddenly throw up her hands and fall flat on the ground, or dash herself with great violence against a tree, or gash her cheeks with shells. She will also plaster herself with mud. Then when the first stage of her mourning is over, she will retire inside the house and begin to make her widow's jacket of threaded seeds, "Job's Tears," and only emerge to view again when it is completed and put on (Money 1901).

In the initial stages of their mourning, widows could be subjected to brutal beatings at the hands of their sisters-in-law on top of their self-inflicted punishments; they were then made to remain in silence isolated within an affine's house, in a darkened corner partitioned off with blankets of bark cloth (cf. Hau'ofa 1981:233). Most importantly at this early stage, the widow was deprived of most of her property, especially that shared by her husband. Declared dauvan - "dead person's things" - the possessions and garden food of the deceased were claimed and shared by his kin amongst themselves. At the time the dauvan was shared, relatives also saw to the destruction of the more personal possessions of the deceased as well as his house and gardens.

The widow's seclusion lasted at least a month. Her kin prepared a feast at the end of this period at which the in-laws dressed the widow in her heavy costume of Job's Tears and placed her on a platform under the house. This was her usual home for much of the second period of mourning. Without property of her own, the widow was considered to be like a child. The duty of her affines during this period was to reintroduce her to the tasks of adult life, one at a time: going to the garden, weeding, carrying firewood, cooking. The ceremony to release the widow from her mourning took place on a date set by the affines in consultation with the widow and her kin. Another feast was prepared by the widow's relatives. As the feast was prepared the affines bathed the widow, cut and combed her hair (which she had allowed to grow long and tangled), and then decorated her in the finery of a young single woman ready for the dance. In addition, they gave her gifts of tapa cloth, clay pots, shell necklaces, and other forms of wealth. These were seen as return gifts (vina) for the dauvan acquired by the affines. This ceremony, called ro-babasi,[2] closely resembles the kisevi, the puberty rite of passage for first-born boys and girls. Like a newly initiated girl, the widow - now made beautiful - could marry.[3]

The traditional death rites of the Maisin combined destructive and regenerative themes in a sometimes spectacular way. As anthropologists from the time of Frazer have shown, these themes are common to mortuary ceremonies in most times and places (Bloch and Parry 1982). The two aspects of the death observances were considered essential and proper by Maisin in that they made it possible to deal with and recover from a death. But in the strained relations that existed between groups of affines following a death, the kin of the deceased were probably suspected from time to time of succumbing to the temptation to use their authority over a widow or widower to punish them (cf. Hau'ofa 1981:232). People were no doubt ambivalent about this vindictive aspect of the rites, and this factor may have contributed to the changes that followed contact with Europeans.

The missionary campaign to modify the death rites

Opposition to certain of the death customs came hard on the heels of pacification at the turn of the century. In the interest of improving village hygiene, Government officers ordered Maisin to exhume all recently buried corpses located within village areas and to bury them in newly designated cemeteries. Following the establishment of a mission station in Uiaku in 1901, missionaries sometimes requested villagers to suspend or shorten mourning ceremonies, especially when these fell at the time of Sunday worship. When the Mission began to win converts, requests turned into demands. Christians were forbidden from participating in the extended wailing accompanying a death and from blackening their bodies as a sign of mourning. About the same time, the missionaries began to criticize the harsh treatment meted out to widows. By the early 1930's Government officers had joined the chorus, and also urged Maisin to end the "incarcerating" of widows. The Mission reserved its greatest reforming efforts for the young. Village teachers punished any school boy or girl they discovered to have participated in the banned ceremonies.[4] More positively, the Mission provided a simple Christian burial service, sometimes in the church, for Christian Maisin.

European missionaries found the more violent elements in Maisin death rites to be both intrinsically wrong and incompatible with Christianity. After witnessing one funeral Money was moved to comment, "they are truly without hope of a better life in the future and one is very fully convinced of their knowledge of this by the bitter hopelessness of their wails" (Money 1905). The missionaries suspected that some of the objectionable customs arose out of spirit worship, a practice they condemned in no uncertain terms. They sought to introduce a new teaching: the soul released at the time of death will eventually be united with God in Heaven; it will not return to haunt its relatives on earth. Death therefore should not be a time of unrelenting sadness and anger. People should give up "excessive" mourning practices and instead lend sympathetic support to those saddened by personal loss.[5] I have already suggested that Maisin may have been concerned about the punitive aspects of traditional death practices. Such concerns overlapped with those of the missionaries. Thus when large numbers of young Maisin joined the Church after 1916, the legitimacy of the more violent customs was further undermined.

Young villagers flocked to the Mission in the years following 1916 - apparently with the encouragement of their parents - but the mortuary rites did not undergo any immediate modification despite the missionaries criticisms.[6] In fact many of the condemned practices, such as the "death dance" at which women lacerated their temples, continued into the 1940's, often with the participation of Christians. There is also evidence that committed Christians made attempts to withdraw from such rites or to modify them. Some Christians had church funerals upon their deaths; all Christians were buried apart from pagans, further encouraging separate ceremonies; during some village meetings (for which records remain) Christian leaders urged villagers to cease such practices as "punishing widows"; and, in the 1930's, members of village church councils began to police late night mourning ceremonies and send home school children. That the more violent paroxysms of the traditional death rites persisted so long attests, on the one hand, to the integrity of these observances in the mourning ritual complex as a whole.

On the other hand, one can point to certain ambiguities and weaknesses in the missionary campaign itself which in part account for the slowness of the changes. Anglican missionaries held ambiguous attitudes towards Papuan traditions. From the time of its founding in Papua in 1891, the Anglican Mission promoted a very romanticized view of the villager. With the exception of certain practices such as cannibalism and warfare, the lifestyle of the Papuan was regarded as good, and Europeans could be reminded of many of their own lost virtues by studying the simple graces of village life (Wetherell 1977). Anglican leaders argued that the Mission should forbid "bad" customs which were destructive or contrary to Christian teachings, but "good" customs had to be left in place. Above all, the tranquility of village life had to be preserved. Separate Christian communities were not to be formed. The Mission leaders "wanted the convert to live beside his neighbours, differing from them in nothing but his religion" (Wetherell 1977:131). This was a basically liberal policy in which the only rules enjoined upon new Christians were those seen as absolutely necessary to their moral and spiritual well-being. The onus of adjusting to the rules in mixed societies of Christians and pagans fell squarely upon the converts (and their neighbors). Unlike many Evangelical missionaries of this period, the Anglicans rarely proposed viable alternatives to the customs they opposed.[7]

Change in the death ceremonies may still have come sooner had the missionaries been able to lead a more concerted campaign either to ban the criticized customs outright or to back Christians in resisting them. But the authority of missionaries in the villages was built upon a very insecure economic base. By far the poorest mission in Papua in the pre-War period, the Anglicans were often dependent on the good will of local people for their physical survival. Moreover, white missionaries were always few in number and usually responsible for very large districts. Some missionaries on the strength of their personalities were able to bring about rapid changes in traditional customs.[8] But such direct interventions had to be handled with care. The one European missionary to live in Uiaku, for example, often displayed a heavy-handed approach to death rites as well as some other "non-Christian" customs. At one time he threatened wailing women with a stick if they did not cease their "noise". The Maisin eventually retaliated by denying him food and he was forced to leave Uiaku. The Solomon Island and Papuan teachers who carried out most of the Mission's work in the villages were in an even weaker position. To the chagrin of their superiors, they tended to avoid confrontations whenever possible.

Missionaries were obviously able to exert more pressure on converts than on pagans. Christians who yielded to pressures from their elders and participated in traditional death rites might be banished from village church congregations for a time or threatened with excommunication. In communities where single households might include pagan and Christian members, such tactics forced the people to seek compromises between traditional and pagan notions of acceptable funerals. Inevitably, these compromises tended further and further towards the Christian position as the converted population grew and matured. One of my Uiaku informants described this process:

> When the missionaries came, the people didn't understand why they tried to stop these things. It changed as people grew up as Christians. At first some were Christians and some were not, so some did it the Christian way and others the old way. This went on

> until all were Christian and the old things ended.

The death rites that emerged in the 1950's were free of several traditional elements: "death dances", extended wailing, seclusion of widows and widowers (and, with this, the traditional mourning costume), and the ritual to dispatch the spirit of the deceased. Mortuary observances now included a short Christian burial service. But the rites were by no means Westernized. They still followed the basic format laid down by tradition: sequences of public and individual mourning observances; a series of exchanges of food, dauvan and wealth objects; and the reinitiation of mourners into society. Thus the death rites could be legitimized both in terms of tradition and Christianity.

Recent challenges

In the late 1970's certain elements in the death observances again came under attack as contrary to Christian principles. This time the protest originated from within the Maisin community. Following the death of a teenaged boy in Ganjiga, the village closest to Uiaku, a very large number of people observed mourning restrictions for almost two years. A huge feast was held at which all were together released from mourning. Some village leaders complained that mourning on such a scale was detrimental to the welfare of the community; mourners did not participate as much as they should in public projects such as cash crop gardens and maintaining the mission station grounds. The Uiaku church deacon - himself a Maisin - went further and stated at a meeting that long periods of mourning were contrary to Church teachings. People should make an effort to resume normal lives quickly in order that they may be helpful to each other and not dwell upon their sadness or anger. Soon after this, the deacon also began to criticize the custom of kinsmen taking the dauvan of the deceased to share amongst themselves. He pointed out that instead of doing this they should be helping the bereaved spouse or parent. People were only interested in getting the dauvan for themselves and always gave small return gifts at the ro-babasi ending the mourning period.

These complaints fell upon some receptive ears and soon other villagers - especially committed Christians - were voicing them. When a little boy died in Ganjiga in September 1982, the deacon (who was related to the mother of the boy) and some other men urged the people not to take away the parents' possessions. No dauvan was removed and the parents were released from mourning three days after the death. About a month later a middle aged woman died in Uiaku. Her relatives blamed her husband for the death, claiming that he had not taken sufficient care of her during a long sickness. They also chose not to take any dauvan - and to leave the widower in possession of his house and garden. They released the widower from his mourning restrictions at the end of the public mourning observances. When I asked the affines why they did this they explained that the husband was the last of his clan and had no brothers to care for himself and his children in their bereavement; as Christians it was their duty to ease the widower's burden.

The criticism of long mourning periods is partly related to certain opposed wishes of mourners and those who must support them. Generally speaking, more status adheres to those persons who undergo mourning privations for several years. Widows in particular tend to compete with each other, and may remain in mourning for as long as seven years. It is obviously in the interest of those who must care for a mourner and provide for his or her reinitiation into society to get the business over with fairly promptly; they tend to push for expedient ro-babasi's. On the other hand, the attack on the dauvan exchange is new. The ending of the custom of taking the dauvan has a serious structural consequence as the above instances show, for without dauvan the kin of the deceased are under no obligation to provide for the eventual ro-babasi of the mourner. In these two cases very abbreviated ro-babasi's were given at the end of public mourning. In effect, the aims of shortening the individual mourning sequence and of ending the dauvan exchange are complementary.

These modifications have not been easy for the community as a whole to accept. The expedient ro-babasi leaves mourners uncertain as to how they should reintegrate themselves within the village. The widower, for instance, was convinced that his affines were shaming him by depriving him of the means to publicly show his grief for the loss of his wife. He sent his younger children to stay with some relatives and spent a month secluded in his house. At the end of this period he decorated himself and came out from his private mourning. Although he kept his house, he abandoned his old garden and started a new one. There were bad feelings in the community about the way in which this death had been handled. At the next major death in Uiaku dauvan was distributed and mourning restrictions observed. But talk against this custom and long mourning periods continues, and it is difficult to predict at this time what kind of adjustments Maisin will eventually make.

TRADITIONAL THEMES AND CHRISTIAN VALUES

> Perhaps the most significant confrontation with truth and reality among traditional or preindustrial societies, Subsistence or Complex, is death. Experiencing the death of another or thinking about one's own death invite, first, repugnance and opposition, then acceptance of given rationalizations. These are etched in the mind, construct purposes in living and, ultimately, vindicate the traditional order. Nevertheless, in that initial repugnance and opposition lie the seeds of that which may change the traditional order. Death predicates life as often as it follows. . . . each death is an invitation to think again, attempt to pierce the screens of tradition and rerationalize (Burridge 1979:151).

In the preceding section of the paper I presented a schematic outline of the history of traditional Maisin death customs since the early part of the twentieth century. I suggested that there were indigenous and exogenous pressures in opposition to the more violent elements of the traditional death rites. White missionaries were by far the most important protangonists of change, but they were not able simply to ban the death customs that they disagreed with. It was left up to converts and pagans to work out their own accommodation between the received rites and the introduced rules of Christian living. A more recent campaign to change the mourning rituals resembles the earlier efforts of the missionaries in that specific aspects of the ceremonies are being characterized as intrinsically bad and inconsistent with Christian values. But this second wave of reform appears to be an internal development within the Maisin community.

I now wish to consider the cultural significance of these changes. To what degree do the death rites continue to embody the relevances of the older tradition? Are Christian values compatible with the mortuary rituals as they are now practiced?

To answer these and related questions, we must leave behind the foregoing schematic model of customary behavior and peer into the actualities of particular deaths: the contingencies that have to be addressed at any funeral; the rationalizations that draw people towards certain types of responses to death; and the socio-economic contexts in which given rationalizations are reasserted and novel ones take shape. Three themes will structure the analysis. Universally present in mourning ceremonies, they are best denoted by the words revaluation, transformation, and renewal.

Revaluation

Most ethnographic descriptions of mourning customs leave the impression that members of different cultural traditions treat every death in much the same way. But in any society there may be much variation between funerals. Some differences follow predictably from the status of the deceased; the burial rites for the Shilluk kings of the Sudan are a familiar anthropological example (Evans-Pritchard 1948). Less predictable, but often as important, are those divergences which come about in response to contingencies or from the activities of factions trying to work mourning observances to their own advantage (cf. Metcalf 1981).

My initial research into Maisin death customs was fraught with frustration. Participants would tell me how the ceremonies were going to appear and then they would happily proceed to do something different. Of the ten deaths that occurred in Uiaku during my fieldwork, no two were treated exactly alike.

Maisin acknowledge most deaths along the lines of the format of activities described earlier. But within this format there can be a great deal of variation. Standard elements of the death rites may be shortened or lengthened, simplified or elaborated. The funeral of an old person, for example, is often a brief affair of perhaps two days. The death of a younger person - a more serious occurrence - demands extended and elaborated sequences of public and individual mourning. More people attend the funeral; there are more violent displays of emotion; and, as we saw in the case in Ganjiga, the culminating ro-babasi may be huge. Death rites may be further complicated by the addition of numerous optional observances. These include a community ban on coconuts from the deceased's hamlet, a ban on fishing if the deceased drowned, and the avoidance of places frequented by the dead person in the past; individuals may also chop down coconut palms, allow their hair to grow into tangles, and fast from certain foods to demonstrate respect for the deceased. Finally, in the emotionally charged atmosphere of a death, relatives of the deceased may try to punish or shame a miscreant widow or widower, or they may try to smoke out a sorcerer. Others in the community, on the other hand, will try in such situations to smooth out troubles between groups and ease the way back to a tolerable state of social relations.

Traditional mourning customs are not, therefore, simply recipes which are unthinkingly followed when deaths occur. As we shall see, the death rites do symbolize an ongoing social order; but "individuality and unrepeatable time are problems which must be overcome if the social order is to be represented as eternal" (Bloch and Parry 1982:15). Any death occasions intensive discussions, interpretations, and transactions which, in turn, generate a particular configuration of responses.

As Burridge suggests in the passage that opens this section, most people facing death soon turn to familiar rationalizations. The social order tends to be reproduced. But within the revaluations of the persons of the deceased, of ego, and of others which necessarily follow a death, there are seeds of change. At the simplest level, a people may borrow new elements of mourning behavior and drop others from one death to the next. Something like this appears to have happened throughout the prehistory of Melanesia, and has accelerated since European contact (Chowning 1969). Secondly, members of a community must adapt given death customs to reflect differences in the status of participants. If the status of a faction within the society starts to change, the death rites must reflect this alteration. This modality of change seems to have facilitated the smooth transformation of the rites following the conversion of younger Maisin to Christianity.

Finally, at the most general level, the social and intellectual contexts in which rationalizations take shape may change. What seemed an appropriate response to a death in the past may strike today's mourner as somehow beside the point.[9] There can be little doubt that Maisin today have more choice in how they acknowledge a death than did their ancestors. For example, in the more open conditions of the present society, a villager can escape his obligation to mourn a death by leaving his community to live with a relative in town; appeals to the economic welfare of the village can be used to support arguments to modify certain death customs; households with lines to working relatives can choose to adorn the graves of loved one with expensive gravestones. The almost universal acceptance of simple Christian principles also implies a growing openness in the way people respond to a death. Above all else, for committed Christians, are the injunctions that the death rites both acknowledge the supremacy of God and the principle of Christian love as the guiding force in the community. When taken seriously such injunctions cannot help but initiate a dynamic of change, for there is no cultural or moral order anywhere that could be described as perfectly Christian (Burridge 1979).

Transformation

The revaluations that take place after any death are the stuff of history. But the death rites also contain certain ritualized moments of transformation that speak to eternal truths. In his essay, "A Contribution to the Study of the Collective Representation of Death" (1907), Hertz made the important observation that "at whatever stage of religious evolution we place ourselves, the notion of death is linked with that of resurrection; exclusion is always followed by a new integration" (Hertz 1960:79). Death is the ultimate initiation (ibid.:80). Especially in tribal societies, we see the rite of passage as both a theme emerging out of mourning ceremonies and as a structure that orders the observances.

The two internal rites of passage within the Maisin complex of death rituals appear to have been among the customs most affected by the adoption of Christianity. The traditional rite to show the soul of the deceased its road out of the village has become a memory,[10] and today bereaved spouses and parents no longer endure the harsh privations that were once an essential part of their rite of passage.

But there are actually many continuities with the past. Turning first to the transformation of the deceased, we find that many ancient ideas are still current in Maisin villages despite the demise of the traditional ceremony. As in the past, Maisin say, the spirits of the recent dead remain close to the village unless enticed or directed to leave. The ghosts of young people or those who have died suddenly are especially dangerous; angry about their untimely demise, these ghosts may cause sickness to women and children or afflict crops. The problem now, as in the past, is to move the soul of the deceased through its liminal period as quickly as possible. Once reaggregated with fellow spirits in the "spirit place" (waa ei wa'ki) the ghost will no longer attack the living.

My older informants told me that the clergy accomplish essentially the same end in today's funerals as traditionally did the decorated warrior in his spear dance around the grave. The clergyman comes and begins to read the burial rites over the corpse while it is still in the house. Villagers then form into a procession led by a man bearing a cross and carry the body to the cemetery for more prayers and the burial. Encouraged and informed by these activities, the soul now begins its journey along the road to Paradise. Elders view this newer ceremony as a distinct improvement over the old one. They remember how in the old days heathen ghosts would often stay on to molest people in the village no matter what was done; today most Christian souls obediently follow the instructions of the priest and depart on their journey to Paradise without any fuss.

The rites of passage for individual mourners have not been replaced by any such "functional substitute", but here too there have been important changes within an enduring ritual framework. Once again we will take the widow as our exemplar. It will be recalled that after her initial torments, the widow was confined to a shrouded corner in a darkened house for a period of at least a month. Upon her emergence from her seclusion, the widow began a lengthy reinitiation into the community. These practices suggest two transformations of the widow: from a symbolic death in her initial sufferings to a rebirth upon emergence from the dark place of seclusion; and from infancy upon emergence to maturity at the ro-babasi releasing the widow from her mourning restrictions. The early reforms urged by missionaries led to the almost complete disappearance of the first transition along with an increased stress upon the nurture and re-education of the widow in the second. This change in emphasis accounts in part for a trend towards larger and more festive ro-babasi's over the past 20 years. Some recent end of mourning celebrations are said to have rivalled the puberty rites for first- born children in splendor - something never heard of in the past.

In the discussion of revaluations I argued that every death is in some ways unique, touching upon contingencies and the inevitable ambiguities of social relationships. Similarly, every soul that is removed from the world of the living to the world of the dead, every widow who is transformed in the process of moving from a symbolic death to social initiation, is in some ways unique. But the rituals of transformation also speak of something essential and eternal. It is significant that in these rituals we witness such a complex interweaving of indigenous and Christian elements. The old truths are not forsaken, the new Christian truths are not denied or betrayed. Some of my informants told me of how God had shown Himself in various guises to their ancestors; but the ancestors were toton tamatari, "ignorant men", who did not comprehend all that they experienced. Conversion, then, did not entail the total rejection of old truths. Instead it brought a new understanding to the old truths. In the same way, the rites of passage within the mourning ceremonies are not evidence of a sharp break with the past. The Maisin are seeking new answers to very old problems.

The rediscovery of old truths and the search for new ones continues at all times. But there are moments when the need to establish authenticity is not so pressing. I suggested earlier that the Maisin death rites entered such a period in the 1950's. In recent years, however, the rituals have begun to appear to some Maisin as contrary to Christian values. The reasons for this obviously do not lie simply with the criticized customs. We must, therefore, turn to a more general level of analysis and look at the death rites in their entirety within a changing socio-economic context.

Renewal

When discussing the traditional death rites Maisin sometimes told me, "The dead person is not a pig or dog. We do not throw him into the bush." Unlike an animal, which having no society dies alone and unacknowledged, each person grows into and develops a web of relationships within which he finds challenges, respect and affection. For those who are left behind, the loss of a relative momentarily rents a hole in the social fabric; each mourner feels a sadness - literally "inner emotions that hurt" (marawa vita) - which is debilitating and isolating. Death engenders division. There may be suspicions of sorcery; the kinsmen of the deceased may feel anger towards their affines; the ghost of the deceased may be lurking on the edge of the village, ready to steal a child's life. The series of general and individual observances, exchanges and feasts initiated by a death are the means by which various people in the community acknowledge their ties to each other. It is only through participating in the rites, Maisin say, that the separate sadness and worries each person feels may be transformed into a collective sense of well-being and happiness. Maisin call such a state marawa-wawe, "inner emotions given out."[11]

Taken in their entirety, then, Maisin death rites have the form of a rite of passage. The community is transformed from a state of division to one of unity and the social order is renewed.

The renewal of the social order turns also on the revaluations made of it and themselves by participants. For a short time, the death ceremonies symbolically create the social order as "an apparently external force" (Bloch and Parry 1982:6). Weiner has drawn out some of the implications of this phenomenon in a sophisticated analysis of Trobriand mortuary rites.

> . . . the rituals of mourning visually and symbolically diagram the social categories basic to the cultural system. Throughout one's life, social interaction is mediated through the dynamics of exchange, but often it is very difficult to observe the basic categories out of which people work to expand their own social networks. Mortuary ceremonies are moments of spectacular visual communication. They serve as a vehicle for the financial and political assessment of each participant, and for an instant, through the use of such visual qualities as style, color, and space, they frame the oppositional nature of relationships (Weiner 1976:61).

In other words, mortuary rites are a type of social drama in which are expressed both the lineaments and internal contradictions of a social order.

As in the Trobriands, the "dynamic of exchange" mediates most social interaction between Maisin individuals and groups. Death rites are structured around a series of exchanges: cooked food from hamlet owners to visiting mourners; dauvan used in part to pay off the exchange debts of the deceased; gifts of cooked and raw food from kin of bereaved spouses or parents to affines; wealth items from affines to widowed spouses and bereaved parents. Ideally these exchanges should all balance out, forming a material analogue to the notion of shared inner emotions (marawa-wawe).

Given its importance, we need to examine the notion of marawa-wawe closely. The concept of exchange is built into the expression. One "gives" marawa when one pays compensation, celebrates a death or a marriage, or simply helps a friend. Most exchanges contain an element of competition, but marawa-wawe implies relationships of equality, unobligedness, and friendship.[12] Maisin also speak of the notion of altruistic Christian love that is taught by the Church as marawa-wawe, although the traditional meaning with its emphasis on exchange is still dominant.[12]

We may now return to the earlier discussion of the recent criticisms of some traditional death customs. The key points to keep in mind are: first, the principle that mortuary exchanges should in the end balance out, leaving all exchange partners in a state of equality and marawa-wawe; secondly, as will be recalled, the strongest complaints aired were against extended mourning periods and the dauvan exchange.

The objective of maintaining balanced reciprocity between parties in a society is possible only when all members have more or less equal access to resources and wealth objects. Such conditions are most likely to obtain where a people's livelihood is based upon subsistence activities. In the horticultural societies of Melanesia, both formal and informal exchanges are important organizational principles for distinguishing and relating groups. Futhermore, success at exchange is the main way individuals establish credibility and gain status in these largely egalitarian social orders (Burridge 1969a, Weiner 1976).

The values expressed in Maisin death ceremonies are rooted deeply in the subsistence soil. But since the grandfathers of the present generation of villagers first signed on as plantation laborers, Maisin have been steadily drawn into the modern world economy. A third or more of the total population now lives and works in urban areas of the nation - mostly as doctors, teachers, civil servants, and businessmen. Forming an elite labor force, many employed Maisin are able to send considerable amounts of money and commodities home to relatives in the villages. This has the double effect of encouraging rural Maisin to become dependent upon a variety of store goods (as they now are) and of introducing inequalities into the villages. Families with working relatives tend to have more things, but the strongly egalitarian ideology of the villages compels relatively wealthy households to help kin and affines with steady gifts of money and goods. This mechanism tends to balance out disparities (cf. Carrier 1981).

Nevertheless, unequal access to cash and Western goods creates an underlying tension in Maisin communities that is exposed from time to time. The recent criticisms of the death rites can be related directly to this tension. The first complaints were aired, it will be recalled, after a huge feast was held in Ganjiga village to release a large number of mourners. This was one of several such elaborate ro-babasi's to be hosted by "rich" households in recent years. Some Maisin object to celebrations on this scale because they inject a strong element of competition into the death rites. The gifts of the hosts cannot easily be matched by "poor" households with few close relatives in towns. Sponsors justify these large feasts in terms of the numbers of mourners and the time spent in mourning after a death. One solution that would return the mourning celebrations to an equal basis, therefore, would be to severely restrict individual mourning observances.

The criticism against the taking and exchange of dauvan can be traced even more exactly. In 1980, a young man who had been working on an oil palm project returned home to Ganjiga to care for his aging father. He and his wife brought with them all of the accoutrements of several years of urban living: china plates, steel pots, cutlery, radios, new clothing. Several months after they arrived, one of their sons died. Most of their property became dauvan and was taken away. Under Normal circumstances those who receive dauvan are supposed to help the mourners and eventually make a return gift of equal value. This was clearly impossible for villagers to do in this case and, consequently, the young couple suffered a substantial loss in their worldly wealth. The village deacon took note of this and began to speak out against dauvan soon after. The custom was first put aside for a man who had also just returned from outside employment. At the next funeral that took place, however, an ordinary village man was released from his obligation to surrender dauvan to his wife's kin.

The inequalities revealed in some mortuary exchanges betray the subsistence values of marawa-wawe; balanced reciprocity cannot be obtained, some villagers are shown to be inferior to others, and the renewal of the social order is threatened. Through their necessary participation in recent death rites, Maisin have become uncomfortably aware of a dissonance between their traditional values and those of an individualistic moneyed economy. Some would resolve this tension by reasserting the values of exchange: those who take dauvan should give an equal amount back; affines should work hard to release mourners early so that obligations do not build up.

The deacon and his supporters have made these arguments and they take them much further. Identifying marawa-wawe with altruistic Christian love, they insist that a state of social amity should characterize the death rites as a whole, not just the final moments. The Church teaches that all people are children of God, so too in witnessing the death of one of their members Christians should be reminded of their unity in God. In the changing socio-economic conditions of the present, the exchanges at the heart of Maisin death ceremonies appear to these critics to be obstructions to this unity. Based upon an irrelevant loyalty to tradition or motives of selfishness - in the eyes of the staunch Christians - the exchanges seem to inhibit the flowering of marawa-wawe as Christian fellowship.

Maisin experimented for a brief time with a prohibition of the dauvan exchange. But for the moment this appears to be too radical a change for the community to accept. Exchange remains integral to the modulation of social relationships. Seen in perspective, the Christian critique of the death rites and attempted resolution are indications that Maisin are moving towards a more open and individualized social order. As in the past, there is every indication that they will continue to meet the challenges of the present through the creative interpretation and application of Christian principles and values to the death ceremonies.

CONCLUSION

A major stumbling block in the development of studies of religious change in Melanesia has been the almost total identification of religion with social structure. Given this assumption, missionary influence on indigenous religions must be seen either as necessarily destructive - a view put forward by early anthropologists (e.g., Malinowski 1922, Williams 1928) - or as necessarily ineffectual. This second version of the all-or-nothing view of religious change is common in many recent ethnographies. It is argued that as long as the subsistence base of a society remains in place only the more superficial aspects of the indigenous religion change with the acceptance of missionaries (Lawrence and Meggitt 1965:21; cf. McSwain 1977, Weiner 1980). In recent years anthropologists have come under attack for this tendency to attribute a questionable degree of orderliness to Melanesian religions (Brunton 1980). While not ignoring the structural features of religion, some analysts now argue that we must also attend to the positive political and creative aspects of religious processes (Burridge 1969b, Wagner 1972).

This study of Maisin death rites takes its cue from these current analyses. I have discussed the death observances as creative expressions which indicate the significance of death in general and of particular deaths within a cultural tradition (Wagner 1975:93). This cultural tradition exists in history and is subject to the push and pull of both internal and external forces. I have identified and distinguished some of these forces in the case of Maisin death rituals:

external pressures from missionaries, the ongoing process of political revaluations, and the socio-economic contexts within which the social order must be generated. In responding to these forces, Maisin have not simply exchanged one set of death customs for another or continued with the old observances in a new guise. The mortuary ceremonies are ever-changing expressions of a more essential religious process which grapples with the real problems of men and women living together in community (cf. Burridge 1969b:6ff.).

Maisin have neither renounced the past nor rejected the conditions of the present. Instead they appear to be caught up in a creative endeavor to approach death authentically in light of a shared morality, the traditions received from the ancestors, and a developing understanding of Christianity within a context of socio-economic change.

NOTES

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[1] The Ubir people of Wanigela did not destroy the dead person's house, but in most other respects their mourning customs were identical to those of the Maisin (Stephens 1974:160). As we shall see below in the discussion of dauvan, however, this difference is important. More noticeable dissimilarities could be seen in the traditional death rites of the Onjob, a group a few miles inland from Wanigela. There the women used to dress themselves as warriors and dance at the burial feasts of important men (Chignell 1911:216).

[2] Ro-babasi translates as "face pushed back." This refers to the enhancement of the appearance of the mourner which is at the heart of the ceremony. While in mourning, individuals allowed themselves to become "dirty" by not washing, wearing no decorations other than the mourning costume, and allowing their hair to become long and knotted and, in the case of men, their beard to grow. In the ro-babasi the liminal state of "dirtiness" is thrown off when the mourner is once again made beautiful.

[3] Maisin traditionally dealt with widowers and the parents of dead single children in much the same way but, particularly in the case of bereaved parents, the mourning

customs were rarely as extreme and onerous as they were for widows. It is widows who are continually mentioned in contemporary missionary denouncements of the death rites.

[4] Tales of the punishments that teachers used to hand out have no doubt grown in the telling. Nevertheless, school children were regularly caned, forced to pull up grass from the grounds of the mission station as punishment for a variety of misdemeanors. Beyond the occasional sharp cuff, Maisin parents seem not to have taken such an intense interest in disciplining their children. There were occasional rows when teachers became overly zealous in their use of the rod and were confronted by angry parents.

[5] This version of the missionaries' teaching on death is derived mostly from interviews with elderly Maisin informants.

[6] Some baptismal registers have been lost. Those that survive record some 282 Maisin baptisms between 1916 and 1926, mostly of young adults. At this time the Maisin population stood at about 1200.

[7] Charles Abel of Kwato Island, in contrast, deliberately set out to provide alternatives. Writing of the death customs in the Milne Bay area he noted, "Probably everything the people were doing had some heathen significance, and it was my work for Christ to get to understand it, and reverently, piece by piece, to break down their superstition, and replace it by a right way of thinking upon death and the life hereafter" (Abel 1902:93-94; see also Wetherell 1973).

[8] A notable example was the Rev. J.E.J. Fisher of Wanigela who fancied himself the "warden of the coast". For a brief time Fisher established a theocracy at Wanigela in which dancing, women's facial tattooing, and traditional death ceremonies were outlawed. His reforms did not outlast his stay (Fisher 1915, Wetherell 1977:146-47).

[9] In the recent past, for example, unmarried Maisin women used to burn a series of spots from their shoulders to their breasts during funerals to enhance their beauty.

I was told that the missionaries did not speak out against this custom, it just went out of fashion.

[10] The old custom sometimes reappears in an attenuated form. Before the corpse is removed from the house for burial, a relative may call out to its spirit and beg it not to bring sickness upon the village.

[11] Marawa is a key word in the Maisin language that is combined with a number of verbs, adjectives and suffixes to produce a wide range of meanings. By itself the word refers to those "things inside" that motivate actions, responses, and emotions.

[12] Young people sometimes also refer to the romantic Western notion of love - picked up mostly from songs on the radio - as marawa-wawe.

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MISSIONARY DOCUMENTS AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH

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I. INTRODUCTION

The eclectic nature of this symposium on "Missionaries, Anthropologists and Cultural Change" is sufficiently broad to encompass a chapter on ethnohistorical method. This approach in anthropological research is particularly useful in studying missionaries as agents of cultural change. Ethnohistorical method is essential in any diachronic analysis of cultural change and is particularly applicable in the area of acculturation studies (cf. Keesing 1939, Stipe 1968, Welbourn 1971, Urbanowicz 1972, Tippett 1973, Beidelman 1974, 1982).

Ethnohistory, as an approach to anthropological research, is not a separate discipline with a set of theories independent of other theories in social and cultural anthropology. As Carmack (1972:232) notes,

> Ethnohistory is a special set of techniques and methods for studying culture through the

> use of written and oral traditions. As methodology it is complementary not only to archaeology, but also to historical linguistics, ethnography and paleobiology.

One of the primary values of ethnohistorical method is in its usefulness as a research tool for understanding non-literate societies at the point of contact, before they have undergone substantial cultural change from interaction with members of other societies. In the past two hundred years this type of culture contact and interaction has occurred primarily between Euro-Americans and indigenes from non-Western societies. This fascinating period of culture contact and change throughout the world has been described in the log books, journals, diaries and letters of explorers, travellers, traders, administrators and missionaries who were first-hand observers and often active participants in the dynamic process of acculturation that took place (Dening 1966:25).

One may wish to ask of what value are these primary documents to anthropological research? Fortunately, anthropologists are now recovering from the ahistorical bias which once dominated social anthropology. The heyday of the ahistorical functionalists' obsession with synchronic analysis is now giving way to more diachronic studies, making room for what Kenneth Bock (1956) calls "The Acceptance of Histories" in anthropological research.[1] Nevertheless, anthropologists have been slow to plumb the depths of this rich data base of primary sources. This chapter deals with only one aspect of this data base which is useful in ethnohistorical reconstruction, namely, those documents created by missionaries.

The primary purpose of this paper is to expose ethnohistorians to the vast resources of missionary documents, to point out their potential usefulness for anthropological research, and to suggest ways in which they can be used in ethnohistorical reconstruction. I will begin by arguing that missionary documents are a veritable gold mine of resources for ethnohistory and give some examples of how they have been used constructively in anthropological research. Next I will turn my attention to the problem of bias in missionary documents. I will discuss the nature of these documents, their diverse use and function, and the problem of anthropological bias in using them. The paper will conclude with a brief discussion of where missionary documents can be found and their availability to ethnohistorians and other researchers.

II. THE VALUE OF DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

Before we begin our discussion of missionary documents per se, it is important first to have some understanding of, and appreciation for, the value of documentary materials in anthropological research. Fortunately, anthropologists are rediscovering that science and history need not necessarily be in opposition to one another, that there is need for both the nomothetic and the ideographic in our discipline. The old notion that history deals only with the singular and unique, while social science is concerned with generalizations and universal laws, is being challenged by some anthropologists (cf. Bock 1956, Hodgen 1974). As a greater appreciation for the value of history comes into anthropology, the use of primary documents will become more important. Although we must recognize that there is wide variety in the usefulness, quality, and value of documents, this should not, however, dissuade us from using them in anthropological research. Lurie (1961:85-86) has suggested that source material that is not collected by trained anthropologists is of value as long as the person using the material applies the same rigorous tests and safeguards to the documents as he does with his informants. Unfortunately, as Evans-Pritchard (1961) and Sturtevant (1968) have noted, anthropologists have too often been uncritical in their use of documentary material.

As long as documents are used correctly they can be as rich a source of data as are living informants. The key is using them correctly. And at this point, anthropologists could learn much from the historians such as Gottschalk (1945) in his use of source criticism. This is important because the methods of ethnohistory differ in no way from the techniques of source preparation and criticism employed by historians (Carmack 1972:232). Given this caution regarding the uncritical use of documents we can proceed to outline several areas in which documentary sources are useful in ethnohistory (Tippett 1968:16-17).

1. They are helpful in constructing a chronological framework for ethnographic research (Valentine 1960), especially where informants' recall is confused or nonexistent regarding a time frame of chronological events.

2. They are helpful in recreating a lost cultural context from the recent past, or rounding out our understanding of a specific cultural context.

3. They are helpful in providing cultural data from the past for comparison with cultural data in the present.

4. They are especially helpful in the study of cultural change over time, for documents will frequently shed light on why certain cultural changes have occurred.

Given the fact that documentary sources are invaluable in anthropological research as long as they are used with careful, critical scrutiny, what can we say about missionary documents? Are they of the same order of usefulness in ethnohistorical reconstruction as other documents, or do they have an inferior status that renders them nearly useless?

III. MISSIONARY DOCUMENTS AND THEIR USEFULNESS

Missionary documents are created by missionaries in the context of their missionary activity. These primary documents need to be distinguished from biographies of missionaries or mission histories. These are normally written in Europe or America for audiences in those countries, and although they may be useful supplementary material for research, they are not primary documents, since they are not created by the missionaries themselves.

In addition to missionary documents created by European and North American missionaries, there is also a valuable and significant corpus of material created by Third World indigenous missionaries. For example, much of the initial evangelization in New Guinea was done by Tongan and Samoan Christians from the London Missionary Society or by Fijian Christians from the Methodist Mission (cf. Crocombe and Crocombe 1982). These islanders wrote letters and reports home describing their experiences and the socio-cultural context of their work. They commented on the cultural changes that were taking place because of their own missionary presence.[2] For example, indigenous missionary documents from the Milne Bay area predate Malinowski's research there by a decade or more. I have cited Melanesia to illustrate my point, but there are many other places where missionary activity has been carried out by other than Euro-American missionaries, and frequently they have created documents during the course of their work.

Alan R. Tippett (1974) in an illuminating paper on extracting anthropological data from Oceanic missionary records, gives us a good working definition of the nature and character of missionary documents. He notes:

> We are concerned therefore with those records which were created in action -- in missionary endeavor itself, in the conversion of the islanders, in the planting of their churches, the emergence of their new Christian structures and descriptions of the contact situation. They emerge in the missionary action itself. We are concerned with the personal records of experience, of achievement, of failure, of anxieties, and of planning. We are interested in letters, in journals, in reports, in minutes of meetings, in discussions that were part of the decision-making process of the early island church. We are concerned with missionary notebooks containing accounts of pre-Christian customs, and descriptions of institutions like cannibalism, widow-strangling, infanticide, folklore, kinship, marriage and trade patterns. We are interested in the journal entries in which missionaries narrate encounters with these institutions and their ceremonial practitioners. We are interested in their collected vocabularies, translations, and dictionaries. In other words, we are interested in all kinds of documents created in Oceania, by people who lived there, and about things that were going on there. We are looking for the records emanating from missionaries -- not the writing

> about them, but the primary sources they themselves created (1974:6-7).

These missionary documents cover a wide range of materials, but they tend to cluster into the following general categories:

1. Official reports from missionaries to their home boards or sponsoring agents.

2. Formal letters to friends and acquaintances describing the work of the missionary. These are frequently attempts on the part of the missionary to enlist support for his work.

3. Personal and private letters to friends and family which are not intended for publication.

4. Personal diaries and private journals.

5. Notebooks, vocabulary lists, ethnographic descriptions that give details of customs, social organization, language, religion, etc. of the people among whom the missionary is living.

6. In some cases, films, slides and tape recordings which are created by missionaries could be documents that are useful for research.

A single event may be described by a missionary in several different kinds of documents: an official report to the government of the country, a report to the mission board, a personal letter to a friend, and a private entry in the missionary's journal. When all of these different accounts of the same event are brought together the researcher can gain a far better understanding of the various factors operative in the situation. The private perspective will throw light on the public pronouncement, and the two together give a more rounded and complete picture.

An area in which missionary documents are very useful is in reconstructing the indigenous pre-contact era which is the period before extensive social intercourse with Euro-American agents of change has introduced acculturation to Western material artifacts, behaviour and ideas. The documents created by those first missionary observers are frequently useful in describing the pre-contact period because they contain descriptions of indigenous social organization, customs, beliefs and artifacts as they were in the pre-contact period, before they began changing due to outside Western influence.

The recorded observations of the initial contacts between Euro-Americans and non-Western indigenes were made by a wide class of people and not all of the documents they created are of equal value to the ethnohistorian. For example, whalers operating in the Pacific in the first sixty years of the 19th century kept log books of their movements and details of wind, weather, and whales and they made observations of islanders when they anchored for fresh water, firewood, and food. But the nature of their interaction with the islanders was superficial and hence their log books are not a good source of primary documentation on the contact period. In contrast, beche-de-mer and sandalwood traders of the same period were required to enter into a much closer relationship with the islanders with whom they traded. Consequently their journals are far more informative as a whole than are the log books of the whalers (cf. Shineberg 1971).

Explorers and navigators are another class of observers whose journals describe their contact with indigenes. Indeed, the first thirty years of the opening of the Pacific at the end of the 18th century produced an abundance of published and unpublished materials. Even though these explorations were scientific in nature, they were not of great ethnological importance because of the nature of the contact between Euro-Americans and islanders. Explorers and navigators seldom, if ever, had a knowledge of local languages; they used unskilled interpreters, and the cultural lens through which their observations were made caused them to focus more on the exotic such as headhunting and cannibalism, and less on the mundane such as kinship, economics and religion (cf. Dening 1966:25-27).

The documents created by missionaries, however, contrast with the journals of whalers, traders, explorers and travellers. Unlike the cursory contact of explorers, missionaries came to live among the people about whom they wrote. They often intended to spend a lifetime in the indigenes' society, and so many learned the local language, ate indigenous foods, and established personal relationships with their informants and with those about whom they wrote. The purpose and character of their "mission" was substantially different from that of whalers, traders, and explorers, and this difference is reflected in the documents they created.

Another reason I believe these documents are of value to the ethnohistorian is because in many ways the missionary's situation in the indigenous cultural context, where he is both observer and participant, is a close approximation to the anthropologist's sine qua non of fieldwork. It is not surprising therefore to discover that missionaries have made some significant contributions to anthropology and linguistics. For example, the Melanesian Mission in the Southwest Pacific was distinguished by having among its mission personnel anthropologically inclined missionaries such as R. H. Codrington, Charles E. Fox, and Walter G. Ivens. Other outstanding anthropological contributions from Pacific missionaries have been made by Lorimer Fison, George Brown, William Ellis, Thomas Williams, William E. Bromilow, R. K. Rickard, George Vicedom, Gottfried Oosterwal, Louis Luzbetak, and Alan Tippett. Africa has been the scene of numerous anthropologically minded missionaries who have made significant contributions to the science of man. Among these are Dan Crawford, Henri Junod, Edwin W. Smith, Diedrich Westermann, Alexander Heatherwick, Bengt Sundkler, F. B. Welbourn, John V. Taylor, Harold W. Turner, and Aylward Shorter. This list of missionaries includes only some of the more significant; it could easily include hundreds of others from every part of the globe, representing every era of missionary activity.

Alan Tippett (1977) has edited an excellent collection of anthropological writings by Protestant missionaries, presenting 93 selections from 61 different missionaries. Tippett (1977:xi) notes in his introduction to the book that "the editorial problem was not in finding material to cover the whole field of anthropology, but in deciding which selections to make out of a multitude of riches."

The extant anthropological writings of missionaries are indeed numerous. Rosensteil (1959) has given us a general survey of missionary contributions to anthropology, and Luomala (1947) has documented and evaluated missionary contributions to anthropology in Polynesia. Smalley (1967, 1978) has edited a collection of anthropological articles written mostly by missionaries. This material briefly cited refers to the published contributions of missionaries. Think of the wealth of untapped sources that must exist in the form of unpublished documents.

In concluding this section let me suggest several reasons why I believe missionary documents are significant to anthropological research:

1. There is still a wealth of unexplored anthropological data lying buried in missionary records.

2. The data available in missionary documents is important in the study of culture change through time because the missionary enterprise has been one of the dominant agents of culture change throughout the non-Western world.

3. Missionary records have a significant diachronic dimension and describe changes which were advocated effectively and those which were not, and so they speak to applied anthropology and directed cultural change.

4. In many areas of the non-Western world the primary observations of the traditional social and cultural patterns in the pre-contact period are found largely in missionary documents, and there is no way of reconstructing the social and cultural patterns of the contact period without using this material.

5. The history of anthropology cannot be written without acknowledging the significant contributions that have been made by missionaries.

Given that there is value in using missionary documents in anthropological research and ethnohistorical reconstruction, let us now proceed to the problem of bias which must be confronted if missionary documents are to be used effectively and accurately.

IV. THE PROBLEM OF BIAS

There are two kinds of bias that we will address in this section: (1) the bias found in the missionary documents themselves, and (2) the bias of many anthropological researchers against the use of missionary documents. This second kind of bias occurs because anthropologists have often uncritically perceived missionaries to be the destroyers of culture. Consequently, they do not have an informed appreciation for the documents missionaries have created.

(1) Bias in missionary documents

All documents have a bias which comes from the person who created them. It is not the task of the ethnohistorian to sift through documents in search of those without any apparent bias, for such documents do not exist. Rather the ethnohistorian's task is to discover and understand the bias inherent in a document and then control for it as he uses the data in research. All sources have their bias, and they become more valuable to the ethnohistorian when that bias is understood.[3]

A helpful approach to this problem of bias is found in Shafer's (1969:149) A Guide to Historical Method. He distinguishes between bias and subjectivity, and I believe the distinction has value for our discussion here. He notes that bias is a judgement made without carefully examining the data. Subjectivity, on the other hand, is not an ignoring of the facts, but simply the expression of personal values brought to bear on the situation. Bias in a document is therefore quite different from the missionary's subjective interpretation being expressed.

Tippett (1974) in commenting about the problem of bias in missionary documents from Oceania, notes that:

> The question to be asked by the thoughtful man is not 'Is it biased?' but 'what is its

> bias?' It is only thus that we are able to set one document over against another and see both sides of an issue as it stood between the participants in the islands at the point of time we are researching. Furthermore, no matter how biased one particular missionary may have been, he was, nevertheless, part of the historic complex of his time and place, and his evidence is part of the total picture. The researcher who refuses to consider this piece of the jigsaw because it is intellectually unpleasant to him is probably confusing the missionary's personal religious convictions with his own religious bias. Missionaries are individual people and, like anthropologists, they scatter all along the scale of objectivity (1974:3-4).

Therefore, instead of being unduly wary of missionary documents that may be tainted with bias, it is far more important to attempt to understand the wholeness of a document, the context out of which it was created and the configurational whole of which it is a part. This includes, of course, understanding the bias that is implicit in the document and making it explicit. In coming to grips with the subjectivity expressed in a document one can gain a deeper understanding of the factors that influence missionary-indigene interaction and subsequent cultural change. For example, it is important to know something about the missionary's theological presuppositions and his missiological paradigm. We need to investigate what is his theology of culture. Does he see culture as the corrupt result of man's innate depravity, or does he see culture as an expression of God's revelation in time and space - the language God has used to communicate with mankind - or does he hold some intermediate position? What is his perception of salvation and conversion? Does it have an individual and personal focus, or does it include corporate groups and see social structures being affected as well? Is salvation primarily eschatological, concerned with one's spiritual well-being in life after death or is salvation understood to encompass both the spiritual and social dimensions of the here and now and to be more consonant with the Hebrew concept of Shalom? A missionary's ideological frame of reference, informed by his theology and church tradition, will greatly influence his program of action, and this in turn becomes one of the determining factors in the kind of culture change he attempts to introduce into his host society. His ideology will be expressed in the subjectivity found in the documents he creates. Once this is known it makes the documents more useful, not less so.

Another source of subjectivity in missionary documents that needs to be uncovered is the purpose of the writing and the character of the audience for whom the document has been created. When this is known, the value of a missionary document for ethnohistorical reconstruction greatly increases. Let us take an example of a missionary who writes a letter to his board secretary for personal reasons related to his work in the cross-cultural situation. The secretary then publishes parts of his letter in the missionary journal for promotional purposes. Thus, both the purpose of the letter and the character of the audience have been changed. Tippett (1973:129) notes that, "Such documents have historical and anthropological value _if_ the researcher can recognize these motivational rearrangements of the use of the documents. The essential information for really critical testing is whether or not the editor edited or clipped the letters."

I have found in my own research that it is very helpful to have access to several different kinds of documents all describing the same event. For example, what a missionary writes in his personal diary may have a different slant from that which he writes in a personal letter to his family back home. Moreover, what he reports to his mission board and what he writes for popular and promotional purposes may also be different, throwing additional light on an event. By reading all of these documents, the researcher gets a more complete picture of what happened.

Allied to the problem of bias in missionary documents is another, even more complex, issue that must be faced in using these documents. This problem concerns the ethnographic competence of the missionary, and it relates directly to the value of the documents created. For example, some missionaries had some form of anthropological training, many had none. Some were good observers, some poor. Some were cross-culturally sensitive, many were not. Yet all the documents they created, frequently unsorted and unclassified, are found together in the archives. The researcher is therefore forced to make judgments about what was an accurate ethnographic description and what was not, what is of value and what is not, and sometimes this is very difficult indeed. I believe our best guidelines for making judgments on the value of missionary documents will be found in the methods of historiography. For example, Barzun and Graff (1985: 165-167) provide a checklist of questions to ask in assessing the value of a document (cf. Lurie 1961, Sturtevant 1968:456-462).

2. The bias of anthropological researchers

We now come to the second form of bias, which is found in the user of the documents, not in the documents themselves. The issue here concerns the bias of anthropologists against using missionary documents, which emerges out of their antipathy for the missionary enterprise in general. For far too long there has come from many anthropologists a naive criticism of missionaries and their activity. At a recent conference of professional anthropologists this popular notion was expressed succinctly when another anthropologist said to me, "Aren't anthropology and missionary work a contradiction of terms?" Part of the lore of our profession as anthropologists has been to accept as axiomatic the belief that missionary activity and anthropological inquiry are irreconcilable. A growing body of literature on the issue of anthropologist-missionary antagonism, however, is helping to clear the air in what has sometimes been a rather heated debate.[4] The recent article by Stipe and comments by respondents in Current Anthropology demonstrates that this is very much a live issue today.[5] What is emerging from this body of literature is the fact that when it comes to discussing the missionary enterprise, many anthropologists have suspended their commitment to the doctrine of cultural relativism. Moreover, it is equally clear that there is no scientific justification for classifying all missionaries at every period of history as ethnocentric bigots and yet there are still anthropologists today who insist on proclaiming such broad and useless generalizations as, "The missionary goes out to teach mankind, the anthropologist to learn from them" (Delfendahl 1981:89). Closer to the truth and scientific approach is Guiart's assessment that:

> ...missionaries have acquired an immense knowledge of the individuals amongst whom they have worked, knowledge that anthropologists have rarely managed to parallel because of their too short acquaintance with their field.... The indifference, or spite, shown by anthropologists toward missionaries is not based on fact. There is still in missionary archives a wealth of material waiting to be analyzed, if the anthropologist has been trained to make use of it instead of brushing it aside as tainted with bigotry (1980:170-171).

It is hoped that whatever personal bias an anthropologist may have against missionaries, that she or he will be able to rise above this form of ethnocentrism and be prepared to evaluate missionaries and their documents critically and objectively. For as Boissevain (1980:168) notes, "In researching the ethnohistory of New England one finds the writing of missionaries indispensable." What Boissevain says of New England can be said for Oceania, Latin America, Africa and Asia.[6]

V. LOCATING MISSIONARY DOCUMENTS

The final problem we need to address is how one goes about locating missionary documents. I cannot begin to provide a catalogue of these resources, for such a project would take many years and require many books to contain all the information. Nevertheless, I will make some suggestions as to where one might begin.

1. Official archives of the mission societies and organizations

These will appear in various stages of disarray and incompleteness. Good archives will contain all the correspondence between the missionary and his board, annual reports from the field, and various documents that help the researcher understand the role of the mission board in the field situation where missionaries and indigenes are interacting. In areas of the Third World where foreign mission societies are evolving into autonomous local churches, the archival material is increasingly being housed in the local country, not in Europe or America. Frequently these emerging churches do not have resources adequate to create and maintain archives, and yet in principle, these archives rightfully belong to the indigenous church.

2. Private collections

Often a missionary's private correspondence with his family and friends, or his personal journal and diary will be kept bundled up together and stored in a shoe box or some other unlikely place. These are frequently in the hands of children of missionaries and it often takes some creative effort to track them down. But the reward is great, for this type of material is usually of a very different nature from that found in the archives of the mission headquarters and enables the researcher to gain a more complete picture of the mission situation.

3. Manuscript collections in major libraries

Many libraries, including public, private and university libraries, have a particular geographic focus and collect material, including missionary documents, in that area. For example, the two libraries in Oceania with which I am most familiar, the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand, and the Mitchell Library in Sydney, Australia, have vast collections of missionary documents for the Pacific. Sometimes one will find the papers of a major missionary figure collected and housed in a particular library. For example, R. H. Codrington's papers are found in Rhodes House, Oxford, and Edwin Smith's papers are at the University of Manchester. The Day Missions Library at the Divinity School, Yale University, has one of the best collections of missionary documents in the world. There is also a good collection of missionary materials in the former Missionary Research Library at Union Theological Seminary in New York; this has now been amalgamated with the entire library. The newly established Billy Graham Center in Wheaton, Illinois, anticipates becoming a major research center on missionary activity with significant holdings in missionary documents. I have mentioned only a few of the major repositories of missionary documents which are fragmented throughout the globe. In a very significant contribution to this area of research, Robert Shuster (1985) has outlined the challenges of finding missionary documents and has published a select bibliography of guides to missionary documentary sources and provided a checklist of 127 repositories of missionary documents held in the United States.

Missionary documents will often appear in unlikely places, but once a researcher knows the background of a particular missionary or mission station, it is easier to find where the relevant missionary documents are located.

4. Microfilm and microfiche

There has probably been no easier time than the present to use missionary documents in research, thanks primarily to a new accessibility through microfilming. Many, if not most, major collections have been filmed and are available. For example, the Inter Documentation Company in Switzerland has microfiche of the Council for World Mission archives from 1775 to 1940, as well as the joint archives of the International Missionary Council and the Conference of British Missionary Societies relating to India and Africa and covering the period 1910-1945. This is but a small sample of the kind of material available. Catalogues can normally be obtained from the organizations doing the microfilming.

The Pacific Manuscripts Bureau in Canberra, Australia, is another organization that has microfilmed a great deal of missionary material, and catalogues of their holdings are available.

Another documentation center is SEDOS (Servizio Documentazione E/Studi) located in Rome. It serves to supply member institutions of the Catholic Church with recent material on missionary activities. They publish a fortnightly bulletin.

The International Association for Mission Studies in Leiden, Netherlands, has a special Working Party on Mission Studies and Information Management that meets occasionally and publishes reports. Their concern is with the creation and maintenance of archives and making available missionary documents for purposes of research and study.

This has not been an exhaustive list. Its aim has been to point potential researchers in the right direction. One thing is certain. It will sometimes take creative and persistent searching to uncover missionary documents, but once the effort is made and they are found, the contribution they will make to research will be sufficient reward for the effort expended.

VI. CONCLUSION

Herskovits (1962:204) once wrote that, "There is perhaps no aspect of the African experience that has been analyzed with less objectivity than the Christian missionary effort." Herskovits could easily have extended his charge to other areas of the globe. His comments, made a generation ago, are perhaps less true today than they were then, for there has been a quickening of interest in the study of missionaries, and with this interest has come better scholarship and more objective analysis. Burridge (1978) in his eloquent introductory essay in Mission, Church, and Sect in Oceania, noted that:

> There is growing consciousness among students of society and culture -- whether they call themselves historians, economists, anthropologists, sociologists, or missionaries, and whether they study their own or exotic peoples -- that the missionary contribution both in action and reflective scholarship should be reevaluated. The next decade, it is safe to

> say, will see a host of publications by missionaries and others about Christian missionary activity in Oceania and elsewhere (1978:1).

Burridge's prophecy was correct. There has been a dramatic increase in just the past few years. For example, Beidelman (1982) has published a major study on the Church Missionary Society in Tanzania, focusing on the role of missionaries at the grassroots as part and parcel of the colonial structure in which they functioned. My own monograph (Whiteman 1983) entitled Melanesians and Missionaries is a detailed enthnohistorical study of the social and religious impact of the Anglican Melanesian Mission on islanders in Vanuatu and Solomon Islands. James Clifford (1982) recently published an excellent study on the missionary-anthropologist Maurice Leenhardt and his contributions to Melanesian anthropology and missiology. Jane Hunter (1984), employing an historical more than an anthropological perspective, has focused on women missionaries in China. There has been almost a plethora of recent publications studying the interaction of missionaries and native North Americans (cf. Hu-Dehart 1981, Vecsey 1983, Bender 1984, Grant 1984, McLoughlin 1984). This is only a partial list of major monographs; it will undoubtedly expand in the next several years as anthropological attention continues to focus on missionary activity.[7]

If anthropological interest in studying missionaries is a growing trend, as I believe it is, and not a mere passing fad, then we need to become more aware of missionary documents, and better equipped to use them correctly. Our research will suffer, it will be superficial and unbalanced, unless we make use of this large corpus of documentary material. Anthropologists and missionaries have often sought out the same peoples in the non-Western world, but nearly always for different reasons. Their ideological objectives and action programs have often been very different, if not diametrically opposed to one another. They have nevertheless interacted with the same peoples. Anthropologists have written their copious field notes and confided their frustration and exhilaration in their personal diaries. Missionaries have also created written records of their interaction with people. Their records tend to extend over a longer time frame than the anthropologists' field notes, but they are also more varied and not always as clearly focused on anthropological subjects. Nevertheless, it is my conviction that we need to use this material more frequently and more carefully.

The objective of this chapter has been to encourage that pursuit and to invite any serious student of society and culture to join in the painstaking and demanding, but rewarding, experience of pouring over missionary documents in search of a more cogent and comprehensive understanding of the cultural contexts in which missionaries and indigenes have interacted through time. The personal reward will be great, the contribution to anthropology will be significant.

NOTES

1. Some important exceptions to this trend have been Kroeber (1935), Evans-Pritchard (1961), and Hodgen (1974). On the history vs. science debate in anthropology, see M. J. Swartz (1958).

2. Tippett (1973:127-145) has written an excellent article using these Fijian missionary letters to add some significant anthropological understanding on cannibalism, the nature of God, warfare, funerary rites, sorcery, and organizational patterns in the Milne Bay area of Papua New Guinea at the turn of the century.

3. Cf. Kwast (1973:298-300) for a succinct discussion on problems of documentary interpretation in ethnohistorical research.

4. The subject of missionaries has been explored at two recent American Anthropological Association meetings. In 1977 at Houston a symposium was given on this topic, and in 1979 at Cincinnati the topic was "Theoretical and Ethnographic Attention on Missionaries." Papers from this symposium by Beidelman,

Rigby, Shapiro and Schiefflen were published in Comparative Studies in Society and History (Vol. 23, No. 1, January 1981). Missionary activity in Oceania was the recent topic of an ASAO Monograph (Boutilier, et. al. 1978), and includes some excellent articles. It is certainly the case in Oceania that any study of cultural change or attempts at ethnohistorical reconstruction will be inadequate unless the role of missionaries is considered. The publication of this present volume, and Publication No. 26 of Studies in Third World Societies are further indication of the growing anthropological interest in the topic of missionary activity.

5. For further discussion on the issue of anthropologists vs. missionaries, cf. Burridge (1978), Hiebert (1978), Hughes (1978), Nida (1966), and Salamone (1977, 1979).

6. Kluckhohn (1945:145-147) notes that such important missionary documents as Jesuit Relations are waiting to "be combed for case materials on individuals.... This attack would hold not only for American Indians, but equally for Africans, etc." The 16th-century Franciscan Friar Bernardino de Sahagun's 12-volume work has been a major source for scholars reconstructing the preconquest life of the Aztecs. Franz Boas (1901) used ethnographic and linguistic data compiled by Rev. E.J. Peck as a basis for his study of the Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay. Tippett (1980) has relied heavily upon missionary documents for an ethnohistorical reconstruction of Early Christian Fiji. My own work on socio-religious change in Vanuatu and Solomon Islands could not have been written without extensive use of missionary documents (Whiteman 1983).

7. Other significant anthropological studies analyzing missionary work and cultural impact are Ayandale (1967), Tanner (1967), Tippett (1967), Berkhofer (1965), and Baldwin (1973).

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CALLED FOR LIFE

The Literary Contribution of Edward M. Haymaker
to an Ethnohistory of
Guatemalan Protestant Missions, 1887-1947

DAVID SCOTCHMER

I. INTRODUCTION

Whether or not one insists that ethnohistory is a sub-discipline of anthropology or a methodology of varied techniques to reconstruct the past from written and oral sources (Carmack 1972:230), a consensus exists that ethnohistory rightly done draws upon the "diachronic dimension of history and the synchronic sensitivity of ethnology" (Axtell 1981:5).[1] Considerable agreement among historians and anthropologists also reveals that "ideally conceived and thoughtfully written ethnohistory has an independent mission, quite as valid as that of archaeology or ethnology, in laying bare social dynamics, processes, adaptations, rejections, syncretisms, and other topics ..." (Cline 1972:6). Within the more radical form of ethnohistory known as social history, there is the explicit goal of exposing the untold human and historical dimension of the oppressed and the marginal of society. Such an approach provides a new view of the "losers'" social reality especially where two cultures have confronted, interacted, and influenced one another (Berkhofer 1972:Preface).[2] However, to the casual observer and to the participants themselves, this contact situation between divergent cultures and the resulting changes are seldom understood or adequately explained. But for the serious investigator, ethnohistory requires to the greatest extent possible an understanding of "the past in terms of the actors' conceptions of their situation ..." while recognizing that only "an analysis of the contact situation in terms of the participants' beliefs will meet the canons of historical accuracy" (Berkhofer 1972:Introduction). Ethnohistory, conceived thus, takes with utter seriousness the entire social and cultural context and resulting change, whether linguistic, political, religious, at the level of everyday human interaction.[3] As to literary style, ethnohistory is most clearly characterized by strong "narrative, causative analysis, and chronology, but [is] no less sensitive to cultural nuance and the need for impartiality" (Axtell 1981:15).[4]

One primary source for ethnohistory has been the documents of Christian missions and missionaries, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, the world over. Uniquely for the New World specialist of Mesoamerica considerable data are provided us by both the native as well as missionary sources (Burrus 1973, Nicholson 1975). Indeed Mesoamerica is one of the only areas where there exist significant pre-contact pictorial and written data combined with writing from the early post-contact period by trained and literate native chroniclers (Karttunen 1982). Among the most noteworthy of the Spanish missionary ethnographers is Sahagun and his resulting literary corpus (Nicholau d'Olwer and Cline 1973). Except for a few isolated incidents of Protestant contact with the dominant Roman Catholic hierarchy (Zapapta 1982), Protestantism can boast of no ethnohistoric sources prior to the mid-19th century when normal mission efforts began to be recognized and viable enterprises of North American and some European churches and mission societies.[5]

My purpose is to summarize the primary literary corpus of Edward M. Haymaker (1859-1948) with a view to evaluating its potential for an ethnohistorical reconstruction of the Protestant missionary enterprise in

Guatemala specifically, and its contribution to a better understanding of the context in which Protestantism began and took root as a result of one of its primary figures.

The first formal attempt to open Guatemala to Protestantism was made by Frederick Crowe who began not as a missionary but as a British immigrant to Belize in 1836 (Crowe 1850).[6] Ten years later, following his conversion by a Baptist missionary and after nearly five years in Guatemala selling Bibles in the markets, teaching English to university students, and disciplining a small cadre of followers, Crowe was unceremoniously evicted from the country under the watchful eye of President Carrera by an armed guard which escorted him back to Belize on foot.[7] Crowe's The Gospel in Central America is a classic in its own right which represents one of the finest monographs on Guatemala for this period and is a fascinating account of the beleaguered beginnings of Protestantism told by its first recognized protagonist.[8] From 1846 to 1882 there existed no formal mission effort by Protestants until the arrival of John Clark Hill, a Presbyterian minister sent by the Board of Foreign Missions specifically in response to the initiative of President Justo Rufino Barrios.[9] Hill was removed from the country by the Presbyterian Board in 1886 which named Edward M. Haymaker to put the new mission on a more stable basis. Haymaker gave six full decades of active missionary service between 1887 and 1947 to accomplish that task.

Lest we take too lightly the importance of Haymaker's contribution, several specific factors make a survey worthwhile to anthropologists and missionaries concerned with social change, ethnohistory, and/or the life of the church. (1) Only recently have the complete works of Haymaker been compiled, making possible a more considered study of his role and contribution to Guatemalan Protestantism based on his own writings.[10] (2) After more than 140 years of Protestant contact within a predominantly Roman Catholic context, and after more than a century of concerted Protestant mission effort, 25% of the Guatemalan population claims some type of Protestant affiliation. This constitutes the highest percentage of Protestants for any country in Latin America and merits study as to the causes for such religious change. What we observe ethnographically about Protestantism today will make better sense if we understand the mind and mission of those figures who formed and guided the Protestant missionary enterprise from its inception.[11] (3) The impact of Protestantism as a motivating force for both individuals and institutions, its promotion of socio-cultural change or lack thereof, its relationship to other religious and nonreligious claims for loyalty, its transformation as a result of the contact situation with indigenous religious belief systems and Roman Catholicism, and its prospects for growth or stagnation - these are valid concerns of social scientists seeking to understand religion as a key variable in both society and culture. (4) The age-old question emerges of indigenous versus syncretistic Christianity in light of the Maya's responsiveness to both Protestantism and a reformed post-Vatican II Catholicism. Have the Mayas abandoned long-held, deeply rooted beliefs and traditions?[12] (5) What are the roots of this religious change and how has it happened over time? What role has ideology played in this religious change and to what extent do contemporary forms reflect inherited beliefs from the outsider and from the insider respectively? (6) How does Protestant religious belief relate to issues of nation building, politics, work ethic, literacy, education, ethnic identity, class conflict, sex roles, missionizing, evangelization, religious conflict, etc.?[13] Clearly, to ask these questions assumes that the documents reveal more than their "ostensible subject matter" (Collier 1982:7). I believe such questions can be asked of Haymaker's written corpus with the hope that answers will be forthcoming.

Three concerns which lie at the heart of ethnohistory proper guide this critique of Haymaker's literary corpus: (1) the nature of the ethnographic present to which Haymaker was witness; (2) the essential ideological framework which defined Haymaker's work, the mission's work, and the resulting conflicts inherent in the contact situation with native religion and Roman Catholicism;[14] and (3) the religious changes provided us by the depth of six decades of Haymaker's ministry and personal account.

II. EDWARD M. HAYMAKER: THE MAN AND THE MISSIONARY

In September of 1947, on the sixtieth anniversary of Edward Haymaker's arrival in Guatemala as the second male missionary sent by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, the mission periodical Guatemala News dedicated its entire issue to the man, the missionary, and meaning of his life to those who knew him. The accolades given just four months before his death were extravagant and give us clues about the man himself as well as how he was viewed by others.

About his person: he was inquisitive and intellectual, a poet, scholar, philosopher, reformer, visionary; he believed in rest, but not idleness; he was generous to a fault in time, money, and energy; he was patient and persevering, indefatigable with a daring spirit, high spiritual vision; he was a humble gentleman, simple in relation with life, and tenderhearted; he was "Uncle Eddie," with a playful and witty spirit more chapin [Guatemalan] than gringo [North American], a genuine person; and he was a moral and spiritual giant, faithful despite doubt and obstacles, a true hijo de Dios [child of God].

About the missionary: he was called of God, a pioneer adventurer, evangelizer, preacher, teacher, reader, writer, editor, statesman, enemy of ignorance and superstition, and lover of youth.

About the meaning of his life to others: he was a good listener and valuable friend, never too busy for a word, a friendly greeting, thoughtful of others' needs, comforter and encourager; he was a bridge builder, especially among people, a true and gracious host, a vital link to the faithful ones of the past; he was historian and history-maker, an unselfish storehouse of knowledge, an inspiration, a challenger of easy opinion (Guatemala News 1947).

One missionary summarized in the following paragraph his own assessment, shared by most who knew the man and the missionary:

> He is tenderhearted as a mother when giving his comforting counsel, but as bold as Isaiah when attacking unrighteousness and injustice .... He has at once the simplicity of childhood and the complicity and all the alertness of a man of the world.... To him life means work, forward movement, action, self-expression, service of every kind, and a fresh start everyday towards the realization of the dream of a redeemed society in Guatemala. Never will we forget the sight of the 87-year-old enthusiast agilely laying some three thousand tiles to form the roof of the school which now houses over a hundred children. This man of God we would like to call a saint, but we know that he could not endure such a name because he is such a man. Nobody can listen to the "whiskey voice" very long without feeling that he has been face to face with a man who knows God intimately. He always leaves a benediction wherever he goes and yet he would only want to be known as an ordinary man who has given his body, soul, and spirit to the building of Christ's kingdom (Winn 1947:18).

Edward McElwain Haymaker's early and formative years proved significant for his later ministry. He was the first child born to George and Mathilda McConnell Haymaker on August 21, 1859 in Murrysville, Pennsylvania. Haymaker's beginnings were as thoroughly Presbyterian as was his infant baptism. His great-grandfather Jacob and his grandfather John were active Presbyterians, the latter a church member and trustee of the Murrysville Presbyterian Church organized in 1830. Two other Haymakers served as home missionaries among the Native Americans of the West.[15] However, at the age of eight the family moved to near Centerville, Missouri, where they established a homestead. Following the death of his mother, Haymaker's father felt he could not raise the boy properly and returned him to Murrysville in 1871. Soon thereafter he settled in Philadelphia with his father's sister and husband, or Mary and the Reverend Andrew McElwain whose surname Edward himself carried.[16] Without a doubt these years were formative in both the spiritual and educational growth of the young Haymaker as he matured in the environment of a minister's home and attended the West Philadelphia Academy directed by Dr. F. W. Hastings. At the age of sixteen Haymaker made public his own confession of faith and joined the Presbyterian Church in Hestonville. Throughout this period, Haymaker maintained his ties to the Murrysville area through correspondence and occasional visits where other Haymakers were making news through the discovery of a gas well still known as "Haymaker I" dug in 1878.[17]

In 1871 Haymaker began his undergraduate study at Lafayette College, a Presbyterian school north of Philadelphia, and graduated Phi Beta Kappa in 1881. While there he won the Fowler Prize in scholarship, along with the Silver Cup in the hammer throw. Ministerial training and theological study took place at Princeton Theological Seminary where he graduated in 1884. It was during seminary that he felt moved to consider foreign missionary service after listening to a missionary from China.[18]

Events moved quickly in the months following graduation as he was ordained an evangelist on May 16, 1884 by the Presbytery of Philadelphia Central, began teaching for a summer period at New Alexandria Pennsylvania Seminary, and became engaged to be married to Esther Jane McClelland or "Belle" as she was called. Part of the proposal included the sharing of Haymaker's call to missionary service. However, Belle wrote to "Mr. Haymaker" stating that she "might as well die and be buried" as to go to China as a missionary with him.[19] A counter offer was made and they agreed be married and go to Mexico as missionaries under the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. They arrived in Zacatecas, Mexico in November of 1884.

Haymaker's work in Mexico between 1885 and 1887 under the critical and paternalistic watch of Dr. Julio Mallet Provost and Dr. Freeman Wallace proved a valuable orientation for alter service in Guatemala. Provost was a physician who served with the United States armed forces in Mexico in 1847 and chose to remain there to open a practice in Zacatecas (Celis Moguel 1972:43-44). But of the two men Haymaker found that it was Wallace's influence which most formed him and his view of missions.

> For weeks at a time we bumped over the dry, hot plains of northern Mexico in our 'gospel trap' (bushboard), talking of the time of his successes and failures in early mission work .... Any success in my work here will, doubtless in the final round, be found to be largely due to those priceless talks with that grand old man (Haymaker 1946a:25).

Meanwhile in Guatemala the mission began at the initiative of Justo Rufino Barrios, revolutionary, liberal reformer, anti-cleric, and fighter for Central American unity (Burgess 1957, 1972; Miller 1976; Haymaker 1946a:11-14). The Reverend John Clark Hill arrived in Guatemala in November of 1882 in the company of President Barrios who had just negotiated a settlement with the Mexican government over disputed claims to Chiapas. Hill's public profile could not have been higher as he arrived in his triumphal retinue.[20] Despite Hill's favored status and easy access to Barrios, his mission work suffered from idealism and impatience, conflicts with the board over priorities and finances, and a surge of conservative religious and political backlash. Although Hill enjoyed a measure of success given the context and difficulties of his role, he was removed by the board in late 1886 leaving behind the bare beginnings of a mission school directed by two single missionary women, two dozen converts and sympathizers and an English-speaking church of expatriates in formation. However, at a much deeper level Hill and Barrios together had opened Guatemala's door to the Protestant missionary movement.

In an attempt to place the new mission on firmer footing, the Board of Foreign Missions decided to send the partially seasoned Haymaker to Guatemala, where he arrived in September of 1887. Haymaker, like Hill, enjoyed a measure of evangelistic liberty due constitutional guarantees of free religious expression and the mild but muted approval of local authorities. He quickly saw the liabilities of being too closely identified with any political power or of being tempted to mold his work to fit their causes. Unlike Hill, Haymaker was freer to take his mission to the poor, rather than the wealthy, and sought grassroots support for the vision of a transformed society through religious conversion. Writing from the perspective of six decades, Haymaker summarizes the theological and methodological rationale for the task which fell to him and the mission.

> Christ fixed regeneration as the first and most fundamental work of his mission. But he did not limit his activities to procuring new birth. He dealt much in the scriptures (literature); he taught square dealing to the masses (sociology); [he] gave a specific course to his Apostles (seminary education); and taught the multitudes how to live a normal happy life (uplift); he healed the sick (medical work); his activities embraced the whole normal. The Apostles followed his example and we can find no better. So our Guatemala mission early made beginnings in all these departments (1946a:26).

Haymaker's sixty-year tenure was interrupted between 1903 and 1912 when he returned to the States to raise and educate his family. Between 1913 and 1920 he farmed in Missouri, wrote steadily, and spoke in the home churches about Guatemala and missions in Latin America but returned to work with the mission for six-month periods each year. Haymaker resumed full-time status and worked for nearly a decade until his active retirement in 1929 at the age of 70. His wife Belle died in 1928 after returning to the States for medical treatment of exhaustion and anemia. Three years later, in 1931, Haymaker remarried and relocated in El Rancho, Progreso. One of the few symbols of recognition of this service was given by his alma mater which awarded him an honorary doctorate in 1925. It was Haymaker's wish to serve until his death in Guatemala where he would have been buried. However, he fell ill of pneumonia while visiting his family during "the only vacation he ever took" in Warrenburg, Missouri, in 1947, and died on January 3, 1948. He was buried there next to his first wife.

It is beyond my purposes to deal with Haymaker's specific mission work except as a frame of reference for his written contribution to an ethnohistory of the Protestant movement in Guatemala.[21] Nevertheless, what he wrote reflects strongly what he believed and did.

In this sense his writings should not be isolated from the rest of his missionary work as a thing in itself. Rather, his literature should be seen as one primary expression of mission work itself for Haymaker who used the printed page for literacy, evangelism, disciplining, education, and recording the mission's history.[22] It was beyond any doubt the single most important tool to him personally and professionally in carrying out the tasks which were his in his day and person. I will now turn to a survey of Haymaker's literary contribution.

III. THE LITERARY CORPUS OF EDWARD M. HAYMAKER

Three specific genres form Haymaker's literary corpus and include book-length works, both published and unpublished; editorials and essays or short news features found in two mission magazines, one in English and the other in Spanish; and family and mission related reports and correspondence. I will deal with only the first two in that they are the most accessible and manageable in such a limited survey.

A. Books and Manuscripts

Four basic works will be considered in this section: The Tramp's Own (1892) A Study in Latin American Futures -- Guatemala (1917), A Sociological Analysis of Roman Catholicism (1924), Footnotes on the Evangelical Movement in Guatemala (1946a). Of the above mentioned works, only A Sociological Analysis of Roman Catholicism (1924) was ever published, and only on mission presses in Guatemala through funds from a benefactor of the mission. We can only speculate as to just why they were never published, given both Haymaker's skill as a writer and respect for the power of the printed page. At this point we might suggest several possible reasons: (1) primary reliance upon the two mission periodicals for getting his views heard, rather than on formal works which demanded money and time to publish successfully; (2) the relative distance between Haymaker and an interested stateside audience which may not have comprised a very large readership; (3) denominational disapproval of Haymaker's often critical and strident message which did not endear him to the home board leadership;[23] and (4) a primary concern for the field situation and its needs, rather than to a stateside leadership role as a missionary leader or church executive. Given the likelihood of any or all of the above factors, it seems that Haymaker's voice never gained a hearing commensurate with his dedication and skill within circles outside the immediate context of Guatemalan Protestantism and a limited number of stateside loyalists. His story, as one who was marginal and practically forgotten, and the story he so willingly shared is justifiably the concern of missionary ethnohistory to one day review and reconstruct.

1. The Tramp's Own.

Haymaker's sense of humor and taste for adventure are never clearer than in his first book-length effort entitled The Tramp's Own (1892).[24] It was written as an account of the thoughts, sights, situations, and persons encountered during a round-trip trek between Guatemala City and Quetzaltenango during September of 1892. Joseph Winterton, a British teetotalling Baptist businessman was befriended by Haymaker who discovered him dying of typhoid in a hospital (1946a:111-112). Haymaker in typical tongue-in-cheek style said, "If you're going to die you might as well come to my house and die peacefully than to die in this hospital."[25] Nursed back to health by Belle's good hand and Haymaker's good humor, Winterton became a life-long family friend. Thus it is that Haymaker and Winterton set out to try their luck as sophisticated pedestrians on a 250 mile round-trip expedition.

Their account is divided roughly into eight chapters which correspond to the stages of their journey. The men each take on a pen name with Winterton as "Calamity Jones" due to his constant complaining and Haymaker as "T. Yorick Simms" who acts the comic relief. Although these roles are not always portrayed consistently, the text often uses a dialogue format to recapture actual conversations. Descriptive narrative is employed first about one tramp and then about the other as they haggle over a purchase, eat the local cuisine, or encounter a town in full fiesta. Some 32 pen and ink drawings grace the volume, drawn apparently by both Haymaker and Winterton. The drawings depict actual events, like being carried across the river by an Indian cargo bearer, as well as scenic panoramas, people encountered, church facades, and town architecture.

One seldom writes unless to be read at some future date, however remote. Thus it is appropriate to ask for whom Haymaker and Winterton wrote. Their immediate friends and families, complete with pun, are cited in the opening dedication as "the dear ones who staid [sic] at home and alone endured the humdrum life, though they were more worthy of the outing than we. It is for them this description is taken" (Haymaker 1892). Of what interest is the volume today and to whom? What is its contribution to ethnohistory? The following list provides a summary of those aspects of the work which I find of particular interest and of ethnohistorical potential.

1) Humor and the personality of Haymaker the poet, adventurer, philosopher, geographer, artist, and friend, are seen through quips, quotes, vignettes, logic, and drawings.

2) The work given insight into Haymaker's personal value system; his comments range from what makes a good hotel to what makes a good town [e.g., on Zaragoza, "too much name for so meager an attempt at a town"] (1892:12).

3) Haymaker's Indian cargo bearer serves as a paradigm for observations on Indians who, within the larger Guatemalan society, "have been treated with cruelty and deceptions to [a] generation, till they are suspicious almost of each other" (1892:9-10). His defence of the marginal and maligned Quiche Indians of Nahuala reveals both a sensitive ethnocentrism as well as a sympathetic understanding of why they would have rejected the dominant Ladino [non-Indian] inroads into their community (1946:112):

> They have seen what comes of such civilization. They have seen their brother tribes vitiated, their energies and industries destroyed, the towns turned into Hells and

> their people into demons, and naturally enough they say, "No, none of that for us," and they are right. It is better for them to climb slowly and laboriously along their own foot paths of improvement and reach enlightenment gradually and spontaneously, than it is for them to try to leap the chasm and fall fathoms down into municipal and individual destruction (1892:27).

4) Descriptions include the September 15th Independence celebration in Quezaltenango, the response of local populations to these foreigners, the food available locally and carried by the hikers themselves, their brief initial impressions of many towns, the inside of a Roman Catholic church and a roadside shrine.

5) Sketched representations of colonial architecture found in several churches and towns are especially valuable to knowing how a site appeared in 1892.

Despite the playful mood of The Tramp's Own, it reveals Haymaker's considerable sensitivity to people and the world around him. While more descriptive than ideological, this work contains clues pertaining to the assumptions and foundations upon which he erected a life's call. These assumptions become more explicit in his subsequent literature. The writers described in a verbal picture book what they experienced, and thereby provide us with glimpses of rural Guatemala, albeit occasionally jaundiced by Haymaker's own foreign middle-class Protestant values. Nevertheless, it is data for us as to what one man saw and thought about rural Guatemala in 1892.[26]

2. A Study in Latin American Futures -- Guatemala.

In 1917 at the age of 58 and after some 30 years' ministry, Haymaker had both enjoyed and suffered through the establishment of two strategic mission centers, Guatemala City and Quezaltenango, which was a three-day journey into the western highlands. Rural evangelization, church organization, a mission hospital, two elementary schools, a printing press and literature production, acquisition of new property and construction of new buildings, a major earthquake, personnel training and dispute resolution, budget requests and allocations, and annual meetings and reports demanded much from the mission's senior missionary. The burdens took their toll and Haymaker resigned in 1903, returning to the United States to raise and educate his family, which had grown to eight children.[27]

Latin American Futures (1917) emerged during this interim period of seasonal ministerial migration to Guatemala. The Tramp's Own had been written after some five years' mission work, when Haymaker was a relatively youthful 33. What it lacked in ethnographic formality and ideological seriousness because of its lighter purpose, was later remedied in Latin American Futures. In this work Haymaker addressed head-on the lack of information about Guatemala and Central America within the United States generally and the churches specifically. One curious fact is that this work was never published nor made available to those for whom it was intended, yet it may be Haymaker's most significant work ethnographically.[28] Haymaker, keenly aware of repeated United States involvement and intervention in the economic life and political affairs of Central America, and the need for the church to provide an answer which at its heart was spiritual, put his own observations and ideas into a disciplined and coherent form.[29] He writes,

> Whether we recognize it or not, the future of Latin America is a question with which every American perforce is directly or indirectly concerned, be his standpoint that of the scientist, the financier, the laborer, the merchant, the patriot or the missionary. The industrial, social, military, moral and religious development of these lands will own national life in the not distant future, and hence should receive our serious attention and thoughtful study now (1917:viii).

To this end Latin American Futures provides a "moral and religious reconstruction of Guatemala, [and] involves many facts and much material that have a bearing upon interests of every description" (1917:ix). Through a reasoned and written analysis Haymaker hopes to inform, challenge, and change the erroneous and inadequate perceptions of Guatemala held by the American public and church people, young and old. He further hopes that having viewed "the actual condition of the masses in Central America.... American Christians would lay up treasures in heaven by financing the Gospel" in Central America (1917:x).

Latin American Futures divides into thirteen chapters which cover the following topics:

1) "Geographic Features" of Guatemala includes climate, topography, flora and fauna, birds, insects, and mineral resources.

2) "People" includes demographics, ethnic make-up, Indian life and status, Ladinos, foreigners, and missionaries.

3) "History" includes the pre-conquest period, conquest, the colonial period, the church, Independence, the Liberal Revolution, and the monetary system.

4) "Education and Culture" deals with illiteracy, educational revolution, government efforts, Indian education, periodicals and community needs, and the educated classes.

5) "Moral and Spiritual Conditions" covers the effects of illiteracy, unchastity, illegitimacy, drunkenness, Indian superstition, skepticism in the church, Positivism and Romanism, Spiritualism, Protestant presence, and government appreciation for American Protestants.

6) "Peculiarities" includes architecture, clothing, agriculture, industry, amusements, celebrations, public kitchens, gestures, religious incongruities, funerals, and mourning.

7) "The Catholic Question" focuses on Protestant-Catholic relations, erroneous attitudes, controversy, missionaries as authority, doctrinal comparisons (God,

faith, Bible, Holy Spirit, sin, church, sacraments, saints, Lord's Prayer), wrong tendencies, priests, post-revolutionary Catholicism, and the life cycle of the Roman Church.

8) "The Gospel Invasion" describes the precursors to Presbyterian mission work as well as the political and intellectual climate in which the Presbyterian mission began, along with its challenges.

9) "Mission Operations" outlines evangelistic, educational, and medical work. A final chapter deals with mission strategy within the educational, social, political, historical, and practical context of Guatemala.

A section of appendices provides specific data on climate, illegitimacy and mortality rates, exports and imports, questions commonly asked about Guatemala, places and native items of interest to visitors, and an extensive bibliography of some eighty sources.

For those persons interested in a visual representation of Guatemalan society and the Presbyterian mission, Haymaker includes eighteen black and white photographs. Several are especially valuable for their accurate portrayal of Indian dress for this period. Others show scenes still common today, such as the national palace, church ruins in Antigua, and coffee plantations. Lest the home folks feel the missionaries had no fun, a photograph is included of American and Guatemalan baseball teams, a sport introduced by a missionary doctor and one Haymaker enjoyed promoting in place of the "barbarous bullfight" (1946a:63). The Americans lost.

Latin American Futures comes closest to an ethnographic account of Guatemalan life and Protestant mission as anything produced by Haymaker or any other missionary to that time. The work stands in the literary tradition of missionary monographs in its design, description, and scope. Despite the recurring value judgments that link the ethnographic portions of the book, there are valuable insights into the behavior of Guatemalans at a variety of levels, from the social to the psychological, the cultural to the political. Haymaker describes many customs, from mourning to mouth washing, which to the outsider may seem unintelligible, strange and even wrong, but which in their proper context and with thoughtful explanation, help one to understand the Guatemalan sociocultural milieu (1917: 112). Customs which build for wholesomeness, intelligence, and excellence receive high marks from Haymaker. For example, the custom of the tertulia brings forth the following comments:

> This is the social 'smoker', with or without the smoke, an evening talking party where superior conversational talent is at a premium and is rewarded with popularity and distinction.... It is a magnificent and highly commendable matching of wits, in which both ladies and gentlemen take part (1917:67).

But above all, Latin American Futures seeks to be an ethnographic description of and a reasoned argument for the Protestant missionary enterprise in its Guatemala setting. To its credit we have a document that provides us with perhaps the clearest and broadest statement of Haymaker's ideology and rationale for mission work. His argument embodies many self-evident truths which he stresses in Latin American Futures:

1) There is a clear and unmistakable need behind the missionary task of the church: "There is but one hope for Central America in the educational and cultural line, and that is the Gospel of Jesus Christ.... There can be no progress without education,... no sufficient education without morals, ...no popular morals without a correct spiritual basis, and neither Catholicism, Spiritualism, nor Agnosticism furnishes this" (1917:70). In this sense Haymaker sees the task as process rather than event, as planned "evolution" not revolution.

2) Despite the positive moral and spiritual gains of the Liberal Revolution of 1871, reactionary Roman Catholics linked with marginated politicians sought to regain power. Haymaker warns that if these powers prevailed due to an inactive Protestantism and a forgetful populace, then the stage would be set "when the entire revolution will have to be repeated in yet bloodier form" (1917:103). Haymaker's insight borders on the prophetic in light of the needs provoking the Revolution of 1944,

which he must have observed, and which instituted basic social and economic reforms until the coup of 1954. Than began another 30-year cycle of violence which has claimed thousands (LeFeber 1984:256). Haymaker saw that apart from significant reform of the social order, it would be doomed to a greater and more determined violence to see justice done. Protestantism, for Haymaker, was not meant to be a postponement of this new liberalization and democratization of society.

3) The tyranny of an unenlightened Roman Catholicism, as a religious system that oppressed the poor, perpetrated ignorance, and sought political power to protect its own interests, is a theme that constantly feeds Haymaker's indignation and his hope for spiritual reformation. While careful to distinguish between those thoughtful and theologically aware individual Roman Catholics, Haymaker attacked "the Catholic system in its effects upon human masses" which is "as far from primitive Christianity as any of the great ethnic religions of the world," particularly with reference to addressing the misery of the masses (1917:179). Again for Haymaker the evil had become institutionalized in Roman Catholicism; the antidote could be only Protestantism. This critique is later developed in Haymaker's Sociological Analysis of Roman Catholicism (1924). Many Catholics today would share this criticism of a pre-Vatican II Catholicism that sacrificed the poor for an identification with the powerful.

4) While overly convinced that the future of Latin America rested on the altruism of American Protestants, Haymaker was angered by the abuse of foreigners who profited from the economic and political openness of the Liberal Revolution and in turn did nothing for Guatemala. The economic exploitation, especially by the outsider, of a peonage system that enslaved the masses was clearly understood by Haymaker, and he deplored it (1917:39-40). However, his solution rested on the enlightened rightmindedness of a converted populace rather than elimination of the structural injustice through revolution.

5) Having spent the greater portion of the volume describing primarily the sociocultural reality and secondarily explaining his apologia for the missionary enterprise, Haymaker concludes with an explanation of

mission strategy and methodology for how to "win an entire nation" (1917:228). For Haymaker, "the missionary's work is as broad as human life itself.... In short, he must evangelize everything together, and that element of life that lags farthest behind will mark the progress of the whole movement. It is an enormous work, and one of delicacy in every part" (1917:228-229). Centers of influence are chosen, friendships are cultivated, scriptures are distributed, groups are formed (especially in homes), teaching is provided, leadership is identified, and an organized group emerges with the explicit goal that the native church be self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating (1917:234-240). Education, medicine, and the printing press provide the means both to equip a growing native church and to reach out to the surrounding society of which it is a part. Critical to the entire task is literature which "creates a desire to read and a reason for learning. It contributes immensely to every part of uplift work. The printed page carries an air of authority in mission fields..." (1917:257). The authority spoken of here by Haymaker is obvious to anyone who has worked in preliterate societies where a few have acquired the skills of literacy. There is not only authority in the sense of commanding knowledge but also of seeing the world in a totally new way (Ong 1982). Literacy then is no small luxury but is integral to the social and religious changes envisioned by Haymaker.

For a reconstruction of Haymaker's missionary ideology, we could ask for no more explicit a document than Latin American Futures. As such it gives a clear understanding of that which motivated the man, and in turn the Presbyterian mission. Further, we have clues to the historical development of Guatemalan Protestantism as well as to features which are so prevalent today within the church (such as a persistent anti-Catholic bias, and desire for literacy and education). At the ethnographic level, one must wade through Haymaker's pejorative and ethnocentric statements which, while they reveal the viewer, obscure the view. Nevertheless, Haymaker's description is skillful and his breadth, only slightly less than his depth of field, is enviable. Haymaker writes to convert, to convince his reader of a need, in the belief that the missionary cause in Guatemala will meet that need. In stating what to him is so obvious, Haymaker hopes to kindle at home a new wave of interest, support, and energy in the missionary enterprise. But he is not merely content to identify social and religious needs for the sake of greater understanding by others, but wishes to be an agent of social and religious change to meet those needs as part of an ongoing process.

3. A Sociological Analysis of Roman Catholicism.

The third work of Haymaker, A Sociological Analysis of Roman Catholicism (1924), emerged seven years following the writing of Latin American Futures. A Sociological Analysis seems to have been written out of a desire to be more substantive, bordering on the clinical, in his critique of Roman Catholicism. It is more polemical than anything written previously and signifies a profound career-long preoccupation with the subject, particularly recognizing that Haymaker had now reached 65 years of age. While not yet at the retirement age of 70, Haymaker was still very active and a permanent fixture in the mission.

However, the mission suffered the devastating earthquake of 1917-18, leaving them without residences, the print shop, the Central Presbyterian Church sanctuary in downtown Guatemala City, a two-story hospital and a school, all of which lay in total ruins. Most of Haymaker's energy was dedicated to the rebuilding of the mission and its program at this time period (1920-24). Perhaps the arrival of new missionaries like Dudley and Dorthy Peck to work in the Mam Indian area, and Charles Ainsley, M.D., to manage the hospital in 1922, Paul Burgess to tend the evangelizing in Quezaltenango, and Lynn Sullenberger and James Hayter in Guatemala City, allowed Haymaker to dedicate more of his time to writing.

But why does he write more on Roman Catholicism? Despite his earlier criticism, Haymaker had not put down in one place his developed argument against the errors he perceived in Roman Catholicism. The fact that this work, while published privately, is the only one which required outside money, had a benefactor, and took on the most formal published style of any of his other writings, indicates its importance to him personally. The sanctity of marriage, the primacy of the family, the dangers of an hierarchical church, and the fear of an inflexible traditionalism in mainline Protestantism are themes he develops. These must have provoked Haymaker to write again about Roman Catholicism.[30]

The work itself is divided into ten chapters with an appendix, including statistics of illegitimacy and illiteracy levels from countries around the world. From cover to cover the volume is an attempt to portray Roman Catholicism as the root cause and incarnation of evil for Latin America. Haymaker sees Roman Catholicism "as a formative factor of social conditions and human destiny ...." Haymaker's goal is "to examine the system, not only at the tribunal of Holy Scripture, with occasional excursions into theological and philosophical territory, but in the light of racial interests, human experience, holy common sense, and the greatest good of the greatest number (1924:8). A Sociological Analysis of Roman Catholicism is perhaps a low point in Haymaker's writing for the purposes of missionary ethnohistory. It is of limited ethnohistorical value except as an example of the careful and prolonged mental effort to which one will go to defeat the "enemy", thereby revealing a man's personal ideology. Its seemingly endless quotes and statistics, its tightly worded logic, its arrogant haranguing, all bring one to the hope that at least it may have been therapeutic for the writer. At the very least, we have one more literary piece in the ideological struggle between Protestants and Roman Catholics for this period as viewed by one missionary leader. Because it comes from one so influential in the development of Guatemalan Protestantism, it enlarges our understanding of how today there could exist such antipathy, not only between individual Catholics and Protestants, but also between the two different and competitive systems of religious belief and behavior in the Guatemalan context.[31]

Lest we judge Haymaker too harshly, it is instructive to note that he openly recognized some twenty years later at the end of his life that, despite his ideological battle with Roman Catholicism, the net impact of Protestantism had "been the reflect effect on the Roman Catholic Church.... If they evangelize themselves, our occupation's done. They do not need to become Presbyterians"

(1946a). As a keen observer of religious change, Haymaker perhaps anticipated Catholicism's sweeping changes stimulated by Vatican II some 16 years following this remark.[32]

4. Footnotes on the Evangelical Movement in Guatemala.

Haymaker's final major work, Footnotes (1946a), was written when in his eighties while living in active "retirement" in El Rancho, a little town of a thousand people that was "most interesting,... not for its costume, its history, its scenery, or its ruins, but rather for the lack of them" (1940:6). Between 1931 and 1947 he and his second wife, Ella Williams, a resourceful educator twenty years his junior who had taught in the mission school between 1917 and 1924, remained busy with their local Cultural Center. Considerable activity was spent in building, teaching, and promoting change among both children and adults alike.[33] Despite this activism, Haymaker continued his writing until the very end, giving most of his time to Footnotes. Haymaker states that they are "written for the record, not for criticism or reaction.... One needs all possible freedom in the selection and statement of these records, hence they have been called Footnotes. The living text of our Mission is the work itself, not any written history of it "(1946a: Forward). One so aware of the history of Protestantism in Guatemala, so in touch with its day to day movement, so convinced of its necessity, and so committed to its propagation could not help but record that which he not only witnessed but also promoted. Haymaker's life is the text and these pages the footnotes to that part of the larger process of missionizing in which he participated so vigorously.

The years of service mellowed Haymaker, but one can still see in him a fire that burns over Roman Catholicism's abuses. His literary goal in Footnotes is not more polemics but rather tracing historical events which will help inform and educate a generation that "knew not Joseph," or the wanderings of the mission and the church during these many years. Haymaker rejects the extremes of "a blind narrow dogmatic fanaticism on the Protestant side, and "an organized clericalism that is prostituting every element of the Christian religion" on the other (1946a:3). Within this tension, Haymaker reminds the reader that "we have almost lost the sublimity, the reality and the office of the Invisible, the real Catholic Church, whose roll-book is the loving heart of God, where there are no errors, no erasures, and no omissions. There lies real unity and Catholicity" (1946a:3).

With Christian unity, rather than division, as the prolegomenon to Footnotes, his most enduring work, Haymaker works from memory, notes, letters, and previously published articles, to recount some sixty years of Presbyterian mission history.[34] The volume is more methodological and historical than polemical and ideological in terms of the thinking and action of the mission regarding specific events, failures, programs, and personnel.

The organizing structure of Footnotes is chronological, beginning with many Protestant and non-Protestant forerunners, going as far back as Friar Bartolome de las Casas. These earlier contact situations are described to some extent within their political and religious climates especially for the 19th century or the time of Crowe and Hill.[35] Chapter Two describes the "First Permanent Mission" and details the story of Barrios, Hill, and the establishment of the first Protestant school in all of Central America. Even with Hill's troubled departure in 1887, barriers had been crossed and the time had come for a more formal mission effort, precisely the task Haymaker set himself to accomplish as we see in Chapter Three, "A New Start." Chapters Four through Nine are entitled, "Evangelistic Work", "Medical Work", "Press Work", and "Uplift Work" (development) and treat in detail the mission efforts in these areas. Chapter Ten, "Outstanding Personalities", highlights persons who have made a contribution as faithful evangelists, teachers, and members despite hardship and persecution due to their faith or social position. A chapter entitled, "Parentheses" is a nuts and bolts assortment of experiences, anecdotes, criticisms, and conclusions touching such topics as financial skulduggery, human rights, sexual mores, divine providence, fund raising, and missionary dropouts. The last chapter reads much like an enjoyable and rambling conversation full of advice from one who has gleaned his insights inductively from years of memorable mission work.

The value of Footnotes to an ethnohistory of Protestant mission and missionary ideology is considerable, particularly for its formative period (1887-1946) witnessed and promoted by Haymaker. Each chapter details events, conversations, successes and failures of the mission from a single criterion: to what extent did the mission, the missionaries, the church and its many members build God's Kingdom, especially that form of it found in Presbyterianism?[36] For Haymaker, the corollary to the question is, to what extent did the Presbyterian Mission provide a salvation-assuring, and situation-improving alternative to the "pall of false religion" (to use Haymaker's term) which gripped the country in a variety of forms, including positivism, Catholicism, spiritism, and nativism? In Footnotes there emerges a consistent and credible picture that, at least according to Haymaker, there had been constructive religious change which was numerical, organizational, and spiritual. He viewed such a movement as the result of the efforts not just of himself, who talks only minimally about what he did or did not do, but of the many persons who are mentioned and countless others who go unnamed. Haymaker is not triumphant but optimistic. He is not pious but convinced that the price paid has been worth the results. Thus for ethnohistoric reconstruction we have a case study of the historical realization of one clear ideological conviction, taken from its inception to its necessary conclusion in one man's life: namely, that to build the Church is God's desire. Furthermore, the interface between Haymaker's ideology and the mission's own development is particularly strong in Footnotes where we have the record of the mission's development through the eyes and words of its most influential and ideological apostle. The limitations of Footnotes as an ethnohistoric source rest primarily in its lack of precision in terms of time and place of specific events and persons. However, this work, as well as the second genre now to be considered, amplifies and makes concrete Haymaker's experience.

B. Essays and Editorials

A second genre, which is more voluminous and which spanned Haymaker's Guatemala experience, is found in his numerous essays, editorials, and tracts which appear in mission publications. By a conservative calculation, the total number of such articles could easily be 500, and they cover a variety of topics related to the goals and progress of the mission. The first of two specific organs was the Guatemala News, printed in English for a stateside readership of interested churches and individual supporters of the Presbyterian Mission. The second was El Mensajero [The Messenger], directed initially to the interested Guatemalan and later more suited to the church member. Each publication had a life of over 60 years with El Mensajero surviving to the present in one form or another after several burials and resurrections by the Presbyterian Church of Guatemala.[37] While the publishing burden was shared by both missionary and Guatemalan alike, the driving vision of its importance to the work and witness of the mission and the church was unmistakably that of Haymaker. No medium was better suited to his evangelistic, utilitarian, and rhetorical spirit than the printed word, communicating a message which constrained his whole life as well as the missiological convictions that served to concretize that message.

It is beyond the scope of this article to cover in any more than summary fashion the themes of Haymaker's essays and editorials, many of which have already been mentioned. For the purposes of an ethnohistory of Guatemalan Protestant missions, both the English and the Spanish writings should be taken into account; many of their themes converge, although for different purposes. For example, the need to support the work of the mission in evangelization and education through the production of literature would be stressed to the home supporters in the Guatemala News, while the values of literacy and literature for the Guatemalan would be stressed in El Mensajero. Haymaker, writing primarily for the interested but unconverted reader in the very first issue of El Mensajero, provides one of the rationales for the existence of the newspaper:

> We want to convince the worker of the dignity of his person and of his position, and this involves serious application and intelligent development. There exists no law which demands that the worker continue his old routine ways while at the same time not look for ways to improve them, especially while there exist already discovered means [to do so]. The worker who is subject to vices dishonors miserably his hammer, his spoon, or his plow; further, those who propose to snuff out the light of the mind of one's fellowman, even if it be in the name of Christ, are themselves the most subtle enemies of the nation and of humanity. Finally, by means of this periodical, let there be made a small, certain beginning which moves in the direction of a good, moral, suggestive, and accessible literature available even to the pocketbook of the poorest individual (1901:1).

Although much of what Haymaker wrote and printed was polemical and could in some contexts be interpreted as fighting words, he warns that for the pagan, "a press is to fight with," but "the mission idea is that it is to enlighten and serve with" (1946a:76). It was the former task of enlightening the home constituency on which Haymaker spent considerable effort through the Guatemala News. In it there emerges a clear pattern and steady stream of information which explained in straightforward fashion the work everyone was about. Particularly valuable are the annual reports of each missionary, wife included, which provide summary statements of their particular work and their difficulties, but more often their triumphs. Haymaker's own themes emerge in the hope that an accurate picture of the needs would maintain personal interest and provide financial support, usually through the proper denominational channels, but sometimes outside them. Themes which appear repeatedly are the following: (1) the greatness of the opportunity in terms of political openness and grassroots response; (2) the mission's (and Haymaker's, to be sure) rationale for work, including the guiding principles and reports on progress; (3) the relationship of the work to other Protestant efforts, particularly as the united Evangelical Synod of

Guatemala emerged, which placed no imported denominational boundaries in the way of Guatemalan Protestant membership; (4) the critical need for theological and technical training of the Guatemalan church leadership through a "tentmaking" model for ministry; (5) the urgency of addressing the massive Indian population of over 70% with the Gospel as well as changing their unacceptable social status and condition; (6) the relationship between political power and change, and its impact on the missionary's task of evangelization of persons and "civilizing" a nation; (7) the difficulties caused by human vices (alcoholism, adultery, and dishonesty), earthquakes, U.S. military intervention in Latin America, Roman Catholic doctrinal differences and persecution, and the home church and board's apparent inability, bordering on disinterest, in responding to the real needs and opportunities in Central America as compared with other mission fields; (8) anecdotes and vignettes of persons changed as a result of religious conversion; (9) the progress of the mission press, schools, hospital, technical training programs, and church and leadership development; and (10) the call to and defense of an indigenous church as part of a global enterprise for progress through enlightened moral change and political democratization based on religious conversion.

Toward the end of Haymaker's missionary service, and two years after his formal retirement from the Presbyterian Mission at the age of 72, Haymaker put together a small collection of his essays and editorials into a tract entitled, Little Letters to Candidates (1931). In this same year he married Ella Williams and settled in El Rancho where the hot, dry climate alleviated a chronic asthmatic condition. It was for him a time to rethink just how his own vision could best be expressed in the years left to him. It was in this mood that he shared the challenge of mission work with would-be candidates. Perhaps more than in any other writing, Haymaker attempts in these essays to communicate a more personal case for the missionary enterprise to which he had dedicated his life and energy. The tract reveals much about the heart of the man as well as his head. The following excerpts provide examples of both.

Haymaker comments on the missionary call:

> So many missionaries are going out that the career is growing common place. The very heroism of it used to stimulate the seriousness of the call. But this is waning and with it the profound altruism and self denial that is the essence of Christianity. You hardly feel that a 'call' is necessary for a mere profession (1931:3).

Haymaker comments on the impression one makes:

> Remember above all that you are not being judged by your own Christian standards of what is right or proper, not even by those of the general American public, but by the standards of an entirely different civilization, many of them distorted it is true, but bless you many of your own are distorted too as you will later discover (1931:5).

Haymaker comments on evangelistic "outwork":

> Every so often you pass a night next to a hen's nest and find yourself and the hen about equally alive with mites before morning.... A missionary has more surface than a hen and can hold more mites. Oft in the 'still night' just as you are slipping into unconsciousness or beginning to dream of peace and home and mother, an ox will bawl, a donkey will bray or a drunk man emit a devil's yell worse than a cross between the other two... and it takes some psychic gymnastics to persuade yourself that you haven't dropped into the regions of the damned (1931:11).

Haymaker comments on missionaries thinking "native":

> We jump to the conclusion that their method of doing things is all wrong, when in fact it is only different, and perhaps even more rational than our own. We see an Indian carrying a burden and think, "Why does the poor wretch carry that load hung from his head; why doesn't he carry it on his shoulders as a

> civilized man would?" ...The Indian is an unspeakably greater master at burden than you are yourself.... He isn't carrying the load form his head at all, and... the strap is only to steady it, while the great weight is borne only on the hips, and carried only by the powerful leg muscles, leaving the shoulders and spinal column free.... [Y]our business is not to correct his method of carrying, but to teach him how a Christian civilization has learned to harness the steam, the rivers, and the lightning, and make them carry the burdens (1931:22).

Little Letters to Candidates includes six vignettes describing in some detail the stories of five persons who were changed by their religious conversion. A murderer, a runaway slave girl, a plantation worker and two infants are the objects of God's grace and care. Beyond the work of institutions and the wisdom of programs, these persons provide for Haymaker the prima facie evidence and justification for a movement that transforms the world through living service. By way of example, Haymaker comments on one missionary nurse's attempts to save a child:

> In addition to these results which are taking place before our eyes..., we have a right as Christians to introduce into our equation of values a few of God's infinities by way of factors. Who but Omniscience himself can know either the true or even probable values of any given human life? Who then dares condemn by neglect even a dirty sick Indian baby? The Babe of Bethlehem and the babe of Kerioth... who would have said, "This babe will be the Redeemer of the race and that, the arch traitor of all time?" We dare not play with human lives, even tho' they seem valueless to human estimation. The altruistic service of this nurse as a co-factor will the eternal values of righteousness and justice and judgement to come.... The nurse has the right of it, not the cynic, and let him who dares assume the effrontery to stand up and

> deny the value of her service in the presence of the Almighty (1931:47).

Included in Little Letters to Candidates is a full sermon text, the only one that I have found, entitled "The Vision of Service." It appropriately accompanies the nine letters and the five vignettes and is developed around five stages of missionary work based on the story of Jonah who is a negative paradigm for missionary service. The sermon concludes with the retelling of an actual daydream of Haymaker's own, an imaginary conversation he had with a stranger, a day-laborer, whom he meets one day. After confessing to the stranger that perhaps it would be better for the missionary to leave Guatemala, "since the Gospel is not really wanted," Haymaker notices a frightful wound in the man's sandaled foot "that seemed to pass clear thru." Then he noticed the other foot which bore the same wound, as also did the stranger's hands. Beneath a torn and tattered blanket covering the stranger's shirtless back, he saw yet another wound in the man's side. Haymaker then cites Jesus's words, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me" as the imperative for a positive vision of missionary service. Haymaker concludes with a personal confession about the power of the dream of the stranger's visit upon him:

> He softly vanished, only he didn't fade from me but to me in such a way that I could not think of him except as still with me, and I cannot think of Him yet, except as with me now and forevermore (1931:32).

V. Conclusion

Each of the works used to summarize Haymaker's literary contribution to an ethnohistory of Guatemala Protestant missions is unique and reveals as much about the man as the movement he served. In The Tramp's Own we see his philosophical yet fun-loving nature. In Latin American Futures we see his keen eye for ethnographic description and ideological clarity. In A Sociological Analysis of Roman Catholicism we see his analytic and polemic tenacity. In Footnotes we see Haymaker as historian and story-teller providing his own view of the events of a movement he both witnessed and shaped. And finally, in Little Letters to Candidates, we see the soul of one who did not despair at having given his life in this way, but rather called others to take up the task where he would leave it.

If an ethnohistory of Guatemala Protestant missions is primarily a reconstruction of the lives of the people who have formed a movement which has gone relatively unnoticed for over a century, then perhaps Haymaker's greatest contribution to us is a better view of himself, the prime mover and architect of the Presbyterian work. And if at another level, ethnohistory is the recounting of how the everyday lives of everyday people were shaped and redirected by the contact of conflicting views of the world, then Haymaker may be the ethnohistorian's ethnohistorian. For it is their story that he seeks to tell. If ethnohistory sees its task as delineating the outlines of competing ideologies at work in such a situation of religious conflict and change, then we have no better spokesman than Haymaker. He explains what moved the Protestant mission in Guatemala from its beginnings until it produced a national church of indigenous followers and propagators. If ethnohistory has an obligation to the ethnographic present in helping us explain why we see what we see, the Haymaker's account of Protestant missions must be the starting point in enabling us to understand the phenomenon of contemporary Protestantism as it grew in the Guatemalan context from one missionary to 1.5 million adherents during the course of one century. And finally, if ethnohistory has that reflective quality of enabling the historian and the anthropologist to comtemporize the past, especially for those of us in the business of both living and looking at the missionary enterprise, Haymaker provides the example, the data, and the challenge to critique our own enterprise with the same vigor with which he served it so faithfully.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Carmack (1972) rejects the exaggerated dichotomy of "ideographic" versus "nomothetic" as appropriate to characterize history and anthropology respectfully. Rather he shows that anthropology has held in its own development to varying degrees of synchronic and diachronic analysis. While functionalism rejected process for structure as well as documents for participant observation, post-World War II theory and method enjoyed a rediscovery of the value of history to the study of anthropology (Carmack 1972:228-229). Fenton (1952:328) first championed the training of "historical ethnologists" who would "carry the perspective of field work to the library." In this effort "the historical ethnologist must confine his attention to manageable problems in which he can use his own descriptive integration of a society as the frame of reference for organizing an abundant historical and ethnographical literature to obtain time depth and spatial relations for the major cultural patterns which he reconstructs" (Fenton, 1952:330).

[2] Two issues are at stake in Berkhofer's goal of getting at the believer's view: the first is the "focal point" of the material: who writes it, and for what purpose? Only rarely is documentation provided us by the loser or the victim. The contact situation between two cultures often leaves us with the focal point of the victor or his unwitting allies. The second issue is the difficult task of reconstructing our view of the victim through that data left by the victor. The conditions of each culture, the cultural ecology in which and out of which the contact occurs is crucial to any comprehension of the event and its impact, immediate and long term.

[3] LeRoy Ladurie's (1979) *Montaillou* is an example of this type of microcosmic reconstruction and draws on Bishop Tournier's 14th-century Inquisition testimony.

[4] Two examples of ethnohistory's informative style are found in Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms* (1982), based on Inquisition testimony from a 16th-century miller in a Friulian village; and Montell's *The Saga*

of Coe Ridge (1970), based on oral testimony from former residents, neighbors, and descendants of the 19th and mid-20th-century community in the isolated Cumberland Mountains of Kentucky.

[5] There were earlier missionizing efforts but most were directed not to reaching the natives so much as the foreigners. Batlle (1974) indicates that Protestantism in Latin America had at least two enemies: Roman Catholicism and the Portuguese. The former under Felipe II feared the expansion of Protestantism through heretical works and the Scriptures. The latter effectively eliminated a French Huguenot colony in Brazil on the Isle of Bahia or Villegagnon in 1557. See Read, Monterroso and Johnson (1969) for a country-by-country account of initial Protestant contact with Latin America through formally recognized mission efforts. Zapata summarizes the arrival in Guatemala of the first Protestants, who came as lay persons but with sufficient evangelistic zeal to get into serious trouble with the Roman Catholic authorities. One such victim, the first Protestant martyr, was John Martin, alias William Cornelius, who worked in Guatemala as a barber and a surgeon but was tried, hanged, and burned in Mexico in 1574 as a heretic (Zapata 1982:48).

[6] Crowe's work comprises one of the only accounts of missionary work in Central America for 19th-century Protestantism. Further, Crowe detailed the inner workings of the political climate of the country at one of its most interesting periods (1841-1846). He was a "John the Baptist" for Protestants who would have to wait to see their day finally arrive in 1882.

[7] See David Escobar's Frederico Crowe: Espedientes Oficiales de Su Residencia en, y Expulsion del Territorio de Guatemala (1984) for a complete list and reduplication of documents still available in the General Archive of Central America from Crowe's Guatemala experience.

[8] An abridged Spanish version of Crowe's story was prepared by Jan C. Varetto (1940), an Argentine Baptist, for Protestants throughout Latin America prior to World War II.

[9] See Haymaker (1946a), Burgess (1957), Zapata (1982), and Carrera (1983), for accounts of Hill's troubled beginning and his essential contribution to the origins of the Protestant movement in Guatemala.

[10] During its Centennial year of 1982, the Guatemala Presbyterian Church in conjunction with the United Presbyterian Church, USA, created an archive of missionary writings, correspondence and church and mission publications dating back to 1900. Most of this archive has been duplicated on microfilm and is available through the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, as well as Haymaker's works surveyed here.

[11] Documentation on the size of Protestantism has been facilitated by Holland's research (1982) and explanatory papers on the size and percentage of local evangelical churches in their immediate areas. In all, over 6,500 local congregations have been identified, representing over a hundred different denominations with a membership of over 1.5 million persons.

[12] Coke's (1978) work on Maya Indian translation looks at religious change enthnohistorically and focuses on the impact of scripture translation into Mayan languages, the role of the missionary, and the response of the Indian population to Protestantism.

[13] See Falla (1975) for a discussion of religious conversion as a result of post-Vatican II Catholicism among the Mayas in one community. Brintnall (1979) looks at religious change as part of the larger economic and political changes in the town of Aguacatan among traditionalists, Catholics, and Protestants alike.

[14] Ideology refers throughout this paper to a cultural system (Geertz 1973) mediated by powerful symbols which communicate an entire worldview of values and priorities, of action and behavior. Haymaker enjoyed carrying a hand-carved walking stick which read, "Para una Guatemala Libre, Evangelizada, Seca, y Progresista" [For a Free, Dry, Evangelized, and Progressive Guatemala]. These were the symbols of Haymaker's ideology.

[15] John Haymaker (1797-1887), Edward's grandfather, was an ordained elder and one of the church's founders (Hackenberg 1930). Edward's great-grandfather Jacob (1771-1834) was a prominent judge in Franklin County and the grandson of Stophel Haymaker, a German immigrant who died in 1788. Much tradition surrounds Stophel, who is said to have been seven feet tall and who fled to the colonies after having won the love of a Scottish Lady Gordon, wife of Lord Earl Gordon (Haymaker 1946a). One might suspect that despite her liberated abandonment of her first husband, Lady Gordon, (or Mrs. Christopher Haymaker), may have brought with her from Scotland some vestige of Presbyterian fervor which stuck and was a part of Edward Haymaker's family tradition at least as far back as his great-grandfather Judge Jacob Haymaker.

[16] Mary, Edward Haymaker's aunt, had five daughters but no sons. One wonders if there were not strong ties between Mary and Andrew McElwain and Edward's parents, for him to receive the married name of his father's sister (McElwain) and then to live with them as his second family.

[17] The Haymaker "oil well" that was dubbed a "freak" because it was natural gas is a story of considerable curiosity still. One of Edward's father's cousins, Obediah, was murdered defending the well from Chicago speculators who laid claim to it during the negotiations of the legal interests. In 1884 the gas was successfully piped to Pittsburgh, an historic first due to the imagination and effort of the well's owner Joseph Pew, oil baron and Presbyterian philanthropist.

[18] Interview with John Haymaker, June, 1983.

[19] Letter from Esther June McClelland to E. M. Haymaker, February 9, 1884.

[20] See Carrera (1983:68-69) for Hill's description of Barrios' reception. Barrios arrived as a hero, having negotiated what at the time was viewed as a favorable treaty with Mexico over Chiapas. Providence had it that Hill was an eye-witness to this grand entrance and was presented to everyone as Reverend Hill, the President's Protestant friend.

[21] See Carrera (1983:76-83) for an ample discussion of Haymaker's missionary activity.

[22] Many themes could be developed along this first point, namely the place and importance of literacy and education in Haymaker's mission work. It is significant that of Haymaker's nine children (one having died young) all graduated from Central Missouri State Teacher's College, and seven chose teaching as their profession. The Haymakers adopted two Guatemalans of Indian parentage, Sara and Samuel Ortiz, who were also raised and educated in the United States and who returned to serve in Guatemala as educators. See Ong's (1982) discussion of the transforming power of literacy and the printed medium.

[23] It would be the exception rather than the rule to find the denomination publishing works which they themselves did not envision, design, or evaluate according to the larger goals of church/mission public relations for financial support. In one instance the Board published a tract of Haymaker's on Guatemala's Indian population without reference or credit for the writer.

Haymaker's criticism could be penetrating and is more obvious in his correspondence than his formal work. Toward the end of his career Haymaker met Dr. John A. Mackay, director of the Foreign Mission Board who was visiting the Guatemalan mission. Despite Haymaker's high regard for his person and proper deference to Mackay's position, he was aghast at the then popular trend in the church toward greater centralization of power in the home office. After so many years of struggling against the highly centralized Guatemala government and the Roman Catholic Church, Haymaker chafed at the idea of more power to the home office at the expense of good field sense in dealing with mission work.

[24] The light touch in which the manuscript is written even affects the way in which it is bound: one must read the back side of the pages, rather than the front!

[25] Conversation with John Haymaker, Hilda Haymaker, and Sara Haymaker Lewis, June, 1983.

[26] Such items of added information include: (1) boot black was not available in Quetzaltenango; (2) extent of the two developments in Quezaltenango; (3) extent of electricity in rural areas; (4) cost of tortillas in local currency; (5) how an Indian served as cargo carrier; (6) use and transportation of aquardiente [moonshine] across Lake Atitlan; (7) levels of accommodation in the way of food, bedding, room size, in a variety of towns; (8) use of musical instruments by Indians in the Independence celebration; (9) condition of architecturally beautiful buildings; (10) options in footware for two gentlemen walkers; (11) prevalence of alcohol and gambling in public life; (12) roadside food options for travelers.

[27] Two other factors forced Haymaker's resignation in 1903: (1) his declining health and near ruin of his voice; and (2) his growing rift with the Board of Foreign Missions over their inability to raise sufficient funds and provide additional personnel to support the mission's growing work (Carrera 1983:85).

[28] In 1962 the Guatemala Presbyterian mission was disbanded in what was called "Integration", which placed the direction of missionary personnel under the Presbyterian Church of Guatemala. In 1963 the manuscript of Latin American Futures was discovered, perhaps as part of a "house cleaning" of mission files. Haymaker's second wife and later widow, Ella Williams Haymaker Cooper when asked about the work wrote, "I know nothing about the manuscript of Uncle Eddie's book. I don't remember he even mentioned it to me. Since it was written in 1917 -- the year the Mission Print Shop was destroyed in the earthquake, I guess it was supposed to be lost like a good many other things." (Letter of Ella W. Cooper, July 27, 1963.) A more careful reading of the Haymaker family or mission correspondence for this period may explain the history of this manuscript and its temporary loss.

[29] The work begins with a reference to the Panama Canal and to World War I, two events Haymaker viewed within the context of U.S. military involvement in the Spanish American War in 1898, Nicaragua in 1912, Mexico in 1913-14, Haiti in 1915, and again in Mexico in 1916. Haymaker rejected this kind of U.S. intervention in place

of politics which were humanitarian and progressive and favorable to the nationhood of the Central American republics. At one point he wrote in the Guatemala News quoting a U.S. congressman that the problems of Latin America are not East versus West, but North versus South.

[30] Study of Haymaker's correspondence and other published articles may reveal reasons other than the ideological for his concern with the errors of Catholicism. His stress on the primacy of the family plays a part in his motivation. At the educational level, he felt it useless to prepare only girls in the mission schools, then turn them out to rapacious Latin males (1917:244-246). Of Haymaker's six daughters, only one ever married and at that in her later years: "Because my older sisters were raised in Guatemala they were more protected than I who essentially grew up in the States," (conversation with Sara Haymaker Lewis and John Haymaker, June, 1983) John, Haymaker's oldest son, is still a confirmed bachelor at 85 years. Evangelistically, Haymaker knew that calling attention to perceived errors in anyone or any system is not in itself productive. Rather the emphasis must be on the "Gospel of Christ [which] is persuasion, love, sympathy -- no calculated offense, bravado or ostentation of devotion or fearlessness" (1946a:30).

[31] Protestants and Catholics do not commonly mix or share in social contexts where their religious identity would be questioned by others. Most striking was the 1983 visit to Guatemala of John Paul II, who was received by an outspoken Protestant President Efrain Rios Montt. The President was criticized by many Catholics for not bowing to the Pope, kissing his ring, or riding in his vehicle. Protestants, on the other hand, were pleased that the President treated the Pope with the "same respect as any dignitary, nothing more." See Emery (1970) for an ethnography of Protestant converts who share a Roman Catholic background but contrast as a group in many features with Roman Catholics and thereby constitute a uniquely distinct religious and social group.

[32] Letter, E. M. Haymaker, March 31, 1946. Some observers of Roman Catholicism have suggested that the

major reforms of Vatican II were due precisely to Protestant gains in Latin American countries. Others have responded that if Protestants converted for the reasons they state, they need not have left the Roman Catholic Church to find what they enjoy in Protestantism (Preito 1980). Within some Indian communities it is very difficult for the casual observer today to determine if a rural house service is that of Protestant or Catholic. The use of scriptures, the elimination of saint worship, and the rejection of even the moderate use of alcohol is common to both Protestant and Catholic parishes alike in parts of Guatemala. One marked contrast, however, is the more active political identification of the Catholic leadership with the poor and oppressed and a rejection of the long-standing alliance between church and state. Ironically, some Protestant churches and fundamentalist sects are eager to find a political home with those in power, thereby repeating the past history of their opponents.

[33] The development of the Cultural Center at El Rancho represented a final and noteworthy chapter in the Haymaker's ministry. Literacy classes, beginning with a small girl who brought tortillas daily, became a school of 132 children by 1945. A house full of kids became a full-sized (48' x 72') multi-purpose town center and was used for sewing, carpentry, English lessons, first aid, music, and child care, with classes for youth and adults alike. Of the 92 students examined in 1945 by a government examiner, 92 passed the minimum 6th grade test (Haymaker 1946a:89). The Haymakers had turned their retirement years into a veritable laboratory for evangelistic and educational work in this one abandoned town.

[34] Haymaker tells in Footnotes (1946a:122) of the loss of his Annals, a year-by-year notation of names, dates, and events in anticipation of a history of the Presbyterian work. Unfortunately these were stolen by a local school teacher turned thief, subsequently destroyed and permanently lost to Haymaker. Published articles refer to those which appeared in Guatemala News between 1909-1947 and El Mensajero (1901-1947) written by Haymaker.

[35] Haymaker retells a story about Crowe but inadvertantly changes several details, thus making the account more spectacular than it otherwise may have been for

historical purposes. Crowe tells of selling New Testaments in the Salama market to interested Indians from around Quezaltenango. Incredulous, he asked them to show him they could read "and thus obtained oracular demonstration of the remaining fruits of the schools, which were established by Las Casas just three centuries ago" (Crowe 1850:536). Haymaker's written recounting of this remembered passage was the Indian saying, "Our fathers taught us and many generations ago they were taught by a great and good padre, Bartolome las Casas, and we still read, fathers teaching sons" (1946a:6). An earlier comment from Crowe about his first convert, a 12-year-old Indian girl who was completely literate and who had learned to read at home, may be the basis for the confusion or at least the combining of these two episodes into one by Haymaker. See Crowe (1850:531).

[36] From a more careful reading of Haymaker, I do not believe that he was a Presbyterian purist insisting on the best way to create a correct church. "The Christian Church of Guatemala should be neither Roman, Anglican, or American. Our principle is that even the expression of their theology, government and discipline should be developed in their own environment, worked out from within, not put on as an imported garment.... We should be very broad in the development of a national church" (Haymaker 1920:16). With this goal in mind the early missionaries advocated a united Evangelical Synod of Guatemala rather than separate denominations. The Synod collapsed with the advent of more conservative and less cooperatively minded groups and more denominationally conscious missionaries. The National Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Guatemala was organized in 1950 and continues to grow along with ecclesiastical, doctrinal, or spiritual uniqueness and legitimacy. See Zapata (1982) and Carrera (1983) for accounts of the Evangelical Synod of Guatemala and the emergence of denominationalism since 1950.

[37] El Mesajero was published until the early 1970's when it went through several name changes each time it was revived. Its primary purpose has been to serve the Guatemalan Presbyterian Church as a news organ to its scattered leaders and churches, numbering today over 150 with approximately 70,000 members. See Carrera

(1983) for a description of the Church's growth in its 100-year history. Other mission and church related newspapers were begun for youth, for women, and among the Quiche and Mam Indian churches. Some of the these are still being published today.

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ETHNOLOGY AND MISSIONARIES: THE CASE OF THE ANTHROPOS INSTITUTE AND WILHELM SCHMIDT

ERNEST BRANDEWIE

Core to the discipline of ethnology are the descriptions we have of other peoples' culture, their way of life, their social organizations, their values, the meanings they attach to themselves and their surroundings. These descriptions, these ethnographies, provide the data-base for our disciplinary concerns.

I would like to consider missionary contributions to anthropology from this perspective of the descriptive data they've furnished, especially one systematic, organized effort in this direction.

Individual missionaries have always made great, lasting contributions to ethnography. Fray Bernardino de Sahagun comes to mind. Ignacio Bernal says his descriptions of Mexico are among the best ever written. Lafitau's descriptions of the Amerinds among whom he worked are also well-known. Names like Codrington for Melanesia and Junod for South Africa are really only the tip of a large iceberg.

These, and other missionary-inspired ethnographies, for that's what they were, were written for a variety of reasons: in some cases to justify their missionizing, or to get money and other support from the home front, for propaganda purposes, or because they were simply told to collect information on the people with whom they worked. In some cases also they wrote to enlighten and to understand. Nor were they necessarily as methodologically biased and naive as is sometimes thought. Codrington is very clear regarding this. He says, for example:

> In conclusion this book, though written by a missionary, with his full share of the prejudices and predilections belonging to missionaries, is not meant to have what is generally understood to be a missionary character; but the writer is persuaded that one of the first duties of a missionary is to try to understand the people among whom he works, and to this end he hopes he may have contributed something that may help (1891:vii).

Missionaries, whether their efforts at ethnology are organized or individual, do not have a monopoly on bias, even when they describe other people to make the task of conversion easier, less traumatic, more complete or more rapid. The work of many professional anthropologists has also, wittingly or unwittingly, been used, and not only used but written as well, with a "missionizing" purpose in mind: for example, to make the colonial, or neo-colonial, wheels roll on more smoothly and therefore more triumphantly. We've also known all along that one's theory, especially if it is a pet theory, can bias one's observations; the profession didn't need a Freeman-Mead controversy to remind them of this. An anthropologist's personal bias in the field can easily, and very unconsciously, color his or her reporting. Whether we like the people we work with and enjoy our field work, or dislike our situation and the people we depend on for information, the kind of people we interact with in the field, whether nobles or commoners, men or women, children or adults, marginal men -- often the bulk of our informants -- or people central to their culture, all this and much more can lead to bias. Who can say they are free from all this, or have always adequately controlled their bias?

Certainly these, and other factors, render our research notoriously non-replicable.

Our own personal philosophy of life, whether we are believers or unbelievers, agnostics or atheists (I was tempted to add "militant" as a modifier, but that would be making the point too obvious), our political persuasion, our ethical reactions to conditions of poverty, our strong sense, as Americans, for instance, that people should have the right to self-determination -- all these values can be held as firmly as any source of bias for the anthropologist. Professional anthropologists should be as candid as Codrington was!

We will return to this question of bias again later.

The missionary contributions to ethnology we've mentioned so far were early and, for the most part, individual. In the early years of this century this missionary contribution, still largely potential, became organized. The results were correspondingly richer and much more useful and valuable. Heine-Geldern, a well-known continental ethnologist, put it this way in 1950:

> Never before had a mission-sending society devoted itself so systematically, both theoretically and practically, to the study of exotic languages and cultures, to the point that one can not separate our disciplines of ethnology and linguistics today from this society.

The stimulus for all this scientific activity, so continued this respected ethnologist, who was not a member of this society, nor a missionary, is due "to the enthusiasm, the amazing knowledge and capabilities, and to the almost superhuman industry of one individual person, P. Wilhelm Schmidt."

The mission-sending society he was talking about was the Society of the Divine Word, and it is this missionary contribution to anthropology that I would like to look at in greater detail. Lowie, (1937:192) in his History of Ethnological Theory, suggests something very similar. He says:

> Ethnology owes much to Schmidt for the establishment of Anthropos, a journal second to none in the field. With unsurpassed energy Schmidt enlisted the services of missionaries scattered over the globe and thereby secured priceless descriptive reports from men resident in remote regions for a long span of years....

Wilhelm Schmidt, the motive force behind this effort to get missionaries to write up and send in their reports, was the right man in the right place at the right time. He was born in Westphalia, northern Germany, on February 16, 1868. He became a priest in 1892 in the newly founded (1875) mission-sending Society of the Divine Word, in whose seminaries he received his first classical, philosophical, and theological training. In 1893 Schmidt went to the University of Berlin where he attended lectures in Arabic and other Semitic languages and religions. His own stated purpose for his chosen course of studies, as he recalled later in life, is relevant:

> I wanted to dedicate myself to philosophy, with special reference to the natural sciences, in order to modernize philosophy. I wanted to concentrate on the study of languages in order to investigate the sources of scholastic philosophy and to get back to the original Greek philosophers through the Arabic and Hebrew philosophers. I was not in the least concerned with ethnology or linguistics. However, I did observe and learn what modern scientific effort in the German spirit was all about. That helped me in my own work with the languages of the South Seas (Henninger 1956:26).

This program was never remotely carried out, though the first book he wrote, which was not published, was one dealing with the original languages of the Synoptic Gospels. Schmidt began teaching at the Society's new major seminary near Vienna and haunting the libraries there for information on the languages of the South Seas and Australia, and he began to publish prolifically on languages and language relationships in this area of the world, stimulated to this, no doubt, by his missionary colleagues who were not only trained by him, but would write him for guidance and help in their own studies. Gradually during this time Schmidt also began working in ethnology. Like his contemporaries, he was a self-taught pioneer of the discipline. He was also beginning to formulate a culture-history theory, applying it to the origin of the idea of God. In this, however, Schmidt suffered from the lack of good data. He decided to start a journal in ethnology. He called it Anthropos.

He came to this idea of a journal sometime around 1902 or 1903 -- Schmidt himself, as he recalled these early years, was not just sure when -- and at the same time came to the realization that missionaries were an untapped resource for ethnology, a resource that should be put at the service of the discipline. Schmidt's first concern, therefore, was with the contribution missionaries could make to ethnology.

Another impetus for this journal came, no doubt, from the emphasis in the society to which he belonged on the importance and value of the written word in missionizing. The apostolate of the written word was a prominent feature of the Society of the Divine Word. The founder of this congregation, still living when Schmidt began the journal Anthropos, supported him strongly, as might be expected.

After much travel and correspondence, lining up the support of other mission-sending societies, Schmidt published the first issue of Anthropos in 1906. We do not want to give a history of this journal here, except to say that it was a huge success and has been in continuous publication ever since. I will just briefly quote from an article written by Rudolph Rahmann on the 50th anniversary of Anthropos:

> P. Schmidt was exceptionally successful in his appeal [for missionary contributions]. A glance at the 'Index of Authors' of the first volumes shows that members of almost every mission order and congregation in the Catholic Church from a variety of countries sent ethnographic and linguistic contributions to

> be published in the journal.... This is even more true if we take all of the volumes which have appeared since 1906 together (1956:4).

For a more complete and interesting rundown of missionary contributions to the volumes of Anthropos, see Henninger (1967). In connection with this survey, Henninger points out also that from the very beginnings of Anthropos, contributions from local, i.e., "native" clergy and missionaries, were sought out and included in the journal.

To understand why Schmidt thought missionaries could make such a major contribution to ethnology as a scientific discipline, we must look at Schmidt's notion of the relationship between ethnography and ethnology. One, ethnography, is the study and description of the culture of a particular group, whereas ethnology constitutes the analysis of this material, the comparisons to which this material is subjected. In the case of Schmidt, this was done for culture-historical purposes. The ethnology was only as good as the data or cultural descriptions, the ethnography, on which it was based.

Ethnography, as Schmidt understood it, has its stringent requirements. And here is where the missionary comes in. First of all, the ethnographer should know the language of the people he is researching. This is all the more important if one wants to get at the religious culture, the values, the world view of a group. A missionary, living for years with a group, clearly had the advantage here.

As an aside, this is no longer as true as it was when Schmidt tried to enlist the help of missionaries. Missionaries tend now to move around much more, be in the field for shorter periods of time. Also the missionaries often seem to use the major languages or lingua franca when they are available in an area as much or more than the local language, partly again because they move frequently. Nevertheless, at Schmidt's time, and probably still today, the missionary has an advantage here.

Another requirement, especially when one wishes to describe religion and matters of this nature, is to have the trust of the people. Here again the missionary normally has the edge over a "professional" field researcher who does not stay so long, or comes back only after long intervals.

A controversy between Schmidt and Radcliffe-Brown in 1910 will exemplify what Schmidt required of missionaries. It was a question of whether E. H. Man, the source which Schmidt used in his analysis of Puluga, the Highest Being of the Andaman Islanders, was trustworthy or not. Radcliffe-Brown claimed Man had misunderstood the nature of Puluga. Moreover, he blamed Man's Christian background for causing him to be biased. This, of course, was -- in some circles still is -- a common accusation levelled against the writings of missionaries, less so today, when many missionaries are themselves well-trained in ethnology. Schmidt responded by stating that Man lived among the Andamanese for II years. Radcliffe-Brown was there from the end of 1906 till the beginning of 1908, i.e., one year. Man worked among the Southern Andamanese, precisely the ones who had the clearest notion of Puluga as a High God. Man also knew the language of these Andamanese. Radcliffe-Brown found their language too difficult to learn and left them to do his field work among the Middle and North Andamanese. Although Radcliffe-Brown did not know Hindustani very well he tried to work through this language with his Adamanese informants. Most of the Adamanese, however, did not know Hindustani very well either. Those who did were the younger Andamanese, who were, therefore, of necessity Radcliffe-Brown's major informants. For two reasons Schmidt felt this was a bad field work situation. Both the language used and the knowledge of that language were inadequate, especially for the collection of religious data, where the knowledge of language, its nuances and shades of meaning, are so important. Also young people would not be so knowledgeable about the traditional religion.

Schmidt then addresses the issue of Man's, and by extension any missionary's, bias. Elsewhere, and in a later publication (1931), Schmidt said:

> ...absolute freedom from preconceived ideas is beyond any man's power ...it is the duty alike

> of the believing and unbelieving investigator not to let their philosophy and their resultant judgements as to truth and value in any way influence their setting forth of the historical facts.... Here and there only the amusing simplicity of some reactionary imagines that an unprejudiced view of the science of religion is the privilege of the unbeliever (1931:5, 6).

In fact, Schmidt felt that a believer in religion had an advantage over the unbeliever when it came to studying religion, a position held by many others as well. [Monseigneur Leroy gives an interesting example of a dialogue between a missionary and a traveler, showing how the missionary has the advantage over the traveler when it comes to the observation of religion (1906)].

Returning to Radcliffe-Brown and his accusation of bias, Schmidt suggested that Radcliffe-Brown's bias might be making him not see certain things. He had gone to the Andaman Islands, after all, precisely to disprove Man's allegations regarding Puluga as a High God, which, according to Schmidt, had always been a thorn in the side of the evolutionists. And Schmidt claimed that Radcliffe-Brown went to the Andaman Islands as an evolutionist.

We begin to see, from this very interesting discussion between Schmidt and Radcliffe-Brown, what Schmidt required of his missionary-collaborators, and why he felt they could make such a contribution to ethnology.

Above all else, he required that they be scientific, and by this he meant, among other things, that they be objective in their data collection. In his personal recollections in his later life regarding the role of missionaries in ethnology, he was careful to state:

> Missionaries, however, should be careful to describe the facts as they know them accurately and exactly. Everything must be handled with religious reverence: nothing must be glossed over or "prettified." If missionaries describe the facts falsely, they falsify the

> ways of God and put obstacles in the way of deriving any great benefit from their description (Unpublished recollections, 1940/41).

In another place (the invitation to missionaries to contribute to his journal in 1905), he says:

> Even though he is totally convinced that the facts of nature and revelation cannot ever be in contradiction, this conviction should not lead the missionary to suppress information, or describe the actual facts in a less than complete way, doing this because of religious or apologetic considerations.

Schmidt put great emphasis on being scientific and insisted on it at every turn. Part of this can be explained by the German way of viewing the various disciplines, which are generally divided into Naturwissenschaften, or "natural sciences," and Geisteswissenschaften. No adequate one-word translation exists for this, but the Geisteswissenschaften, the "sciences of the Geist," or spirit/mind/soul/intellect/"Absolute" -- take your pick -- refer to history, philosophy, the social sciences and certainly ethnology as Schmidt understood it. It would include the arts and humanities as we understand these, but also much of what we would call the social sciences. But, and this is the main point here, they are, by definition, Wissenschaften or "sciences," and one who is working in these areas is a Wissenschaftler or "scientist". From this perspective, then, Schmidt, as a culture-historian, working with a Geisteswissenschaft, was a scientist, and he insisted on it.

Another, more immediate reason why Schmidt insisted on the need for being scientific, both for himself and for his missionary collaborators, had to do with the times when Schmidt began his life's work in linguistics first, and then ethnology, especially in the form of religious history. This was Modernism, an attempt on the part of some intellectuals, mostly from within the ranks of the Church itself, to reconcile and apply the findings of modern science, and especially Kantian philosophy, to the traditional teachings of the Catholic Church, especially in the areas of scriptural interpretation, origin of religion, historicity of the life of Christ, evolution of dogma, and the like. Vermeersch, in 1911, suggested the following as a partial explanation:

> The insufficient cultivation of Catholic philosophy and science is the second deep explanation of the origin of modernist errors. Both have too long confined themselves to answers, which, though fundamentally correct, are but little suited to the mentality of our adversaries, and are formulated in a language which they do not understand and which is no longer to the point (1911: 420).

Schmidt, as a consequence, was very explicitly concerned with developing a reputation as a scientist of religion, which he studied as a positive science (i.e., not from a philosophical or theological starting point). He also related this need for a scientific reputation, which he required of his students and co-workers as well, to the efforts he made to establish the journal Anthropos, which he intended, from the beginning, to be nonpartisan, scientific and scientifically acceptable, and, therefore, also open to anyone for publication. This, too, he insisted upon, and, in fact, contributions from specialists of every persuasion were published in Anthropos. He did not want Anthropos ever to become just another pious mission magazine. Nor, might I add in passing, has the journal restricted itself to religious data. It was truly international in every way -- open to scientists from all over the world publishing in a variety of languages -- and open to materials covering all the fields of ethnology.

So Schmidt wanted missionaries to publish their rich ethnographic materials in Anthropos, but he wanted them to do so objectively, scientifically (see Schmidt 1937:88). They were not to function as ethnologists as they did their field research. They were not to make general judgements about relationships based solely on the materials they were researching on the spot. Following Graebner, he called this "local interpretation," by which he meant "setting up theories and opinions based on data found in that one place" (1937:90). Nor need he involve himself with a critique of sources. All of the comparative work, which is the province of the ethnologist, plus much besides, is nothing with which the field researcher, as ethnographer, should concern himself. The ethnographer, in other words, should record what he sees and leave interpretation, comparison, analysis and fitting data into an appropriate theoretical framework using an appropriate methodology, to the ethnologist.

At the same time, the field researcher, and therefore also the missionary as ethnographer, must be competent in the general areas of ethnology and with the problems with which it concerns itself. Schmidt, therefore, also used Anthropos to educate his collaborators. In linguistics he developed the so-called Anthropos alphabet which could be used to write down unwritten linguistic data. Periodically he published questionnaires and other guidelines for research, especially in religion, which missionaries, and others as well, could use. Schmidt also helped organize week-long conferences, held five times (1912, 1922, 1923, 1925, 1929), largely with this in mind (Henninger 1967: 217f). He certainly took seriously the frontispiece of Anthropos, which stated that this was published unter Mitarbeit zahlreicher Missionare -- "with the cooperation of numerous missionaries." When the Anthropos Institute was established in 1931, this phrase was omitted. The actual cooperation of the missionaries did not stop, although it is true that as ethnology became more professionalized, a relatively greater proportion of articles in the journal came from these professionals. In some cases they were also missionaries. In more instances they were not.

Though Schmidt (1937:91) felt it was practically essential that a field researcher, and, therefore, also missionary contributors, should have a good knowledge of ethnology, he was not so convinced that the ethnologist had to have some experience of field work. He admitted it would be useful, but it was not, as he said, a condicio sine qua non for one to become a good ethnologist, and he referred to himself and to Graebner as proofs of this position. To absolutely require this of someone doing culture-history would be the same as requiring every historian to be actually present at that period of time or incident which he is describing, a principle which would quickly do away with history.

The relationship between ethnology and ethnography, between the one who collects data and the one who uses that data for comparative, reconstructive, hypotheses-testing, or even just illustrative purposes, is very interesting. Justin Stagl (1981) has discussed this at great length in his book Kulturanthropologie und Gesellschaft. The situation that both ethnologist and ethnographer be contained in one and the same person, as it developed especially after Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown (and, around the same time, for Boas and his students, in the 1920s), is a relatively recent phenomenon. Schmidt, too, had more to say about the field researcher, had further cautions and directives to give. Without going into this any further -- it would take us too far afield -- we can see, from what has already been said, why he thought missionaries could be such invaluable collaborators, both for his new journal and, somewhat later, for his own special ethnological work in religion.

The journal obviously filled a need. It was a resounding success and became, as van Bulck said, "a massive library for ethnology." Manuscripts flowed in, not only from missionaries, but from non-missionary professionals as well. To handle this, several monograph series were successfully established (Internationale Sammlung ethnographischer Monographien; Internationale Sammlung linguistischer Monographien; Studia Instituti Anthropos; Micro-Bibliotheka Anthropos, to mention four of these series of publications).

But Schmidt went further. Not only did he look for missionaries in the field to collaborate with him, he also urged missionaries and students of his -- many of them members of the same Society of the Divine Word to which he belonged -- to go out after their period of ethnological training, to do field work. He began to emphasize the need to explicitly collect field data already before World War I, and began to organize this effort right after the war. He was working on his magnum opus, Der Ursprung der Gottesidee (the Origin of the Idea of God), which was to appear eventually in 12 huge volumes. His culture-history method suggested to him that certain groups were ethnologically older than others. Pygmy people especially, but not exclusively, represented such an early culture. (In 1911 he had written a book on the position of the pygmies in world history).

The material to do an adequate job on their religion was lacking, so he called for a concerted effort to collect this data before it was too late. The development of the science of ethnology, as he said later (1937:89), is tied, for better or for worse, to research in the field, i.e., to ethnography. As long as there is still any possibility to do field research, every attention should be paid to this.

No one heeded his call to do research among the earliest people, so he took it upon himself to urge and encourage his co-missionaries to this task. Schmidt had a special interest in religion, but researched other topics on these expeditions. In some cases these data were collected literally "at the eleventh hour" for shortly afterwards the groups researched became extinct. Gusinde's field work among the Tierra del Fuegans deserves special mention here. Other expeditions which might be mentioned were those of Schebesta to Malasia (Semang) and to Central Africa (Mbuti pygmies), Lebzelter to the Bushmen of South Africa, Peter Schumacher (White Father) to Ruanda, Morice van Overbergh (I.C.M.) to the Negritos in Northern Luzon.

As time went on and the staff of Anthropos became organized into an Institute (Anthropos Institute 1931), there was an effort to have the members become experts in the different fields of ethnology and in different areas of the world as well (for example, Höltker and Aufenanger for Oceania; Schröder for China and Taiwan; Hermanns for Mongolia; Fuchs for India; Saake for Brazil and South America). All of these did field work in their area of expertise. Many of them became competent ethnologists as well.

Schmidt died in 1954. His concern, first and foremost, had been with the scientific contribution missionaries could make to ethnology in providing the all-important descriptive data upon which his beloved science so depended. Explicitly, towards the end of his life, Schmidt recognized that ethnology was changing (Burgmann 1966). He himself called for new directions in ethnology, stressing, however, that the basis for Anthropos, and for continuing missionary contributions, always be science, not philosophy, theology or missiology. This was in 1952, the time, according to Stagl (1981:108), when anthropology entered into its own crisis period, when it became involved with culture change and politics, giving rise to many ethical questions related to field research, the use of data, and the relationship between researcher and people being researched.

The times they are a-changing -- and anthropology must change with them. Anthropos, as founded by Schmidt, and the emphasis he gave it and the Institute must, has, and will continue to change. Also since the time Schmidt began Anthropos and systematically engaged the help of missionaries in ethnology, other organized attempts to do the same thing have been developed. For example, the Wycliffe Bible translators, who conduct summer institutes in linguistics in various places, have collected much material in linguistics and in other areas of cultural life as well. To be sure, the need to utilize missionaries as sources of primary data is no longer as acute as it was in the early years of this century, before Malinowski had even done his pioneering field work, which became the model for later field researchers. The efforts of missionaries in anthropology today are much more focussed, and often-times, though not always, change-oriented. In many instances their studies in Third-World countries take on the character more of sociology; that is, their research is directed towards making the society and culture understood in its main outlines to the people of that country themselves, and not, in the first instance, to supply data to ethnologists in Europe or America, which has been more the case with ethnography. Missionaries are still collecting data in organized ways, but their efforts are intended primarily to benefit the people among whom they are doing the research. Several such institutes, which have been directly or indirectly influenced by Schmidt's work and Anthropos, can be mentioned. There is the Melanesian Institute for Pastoral and Socio-Economic Service, the Institute of Indian Culture, and the Center for Ethnological Studies of Bandundu (Zaire).

Much more could be said about these latter-day attempts at organized missionary research. If we did, we would surely have to bring in notions like ecumenism, contextualization, local church, elite-ism, liberation theology, social development, pre-evangelization, plus many more ideas. Also, more examples could be given of present-day organized missionary efforts to contribute to ethnology, if not directly as in Schmidt's time, then at least indirectly in the context of other goals. And individual missionaries also continue to contribute. But it remains to Schmidt's credit that his effort to tap the rich resources available in missionaries scattered around the world was the first systematically organized attempt in this direction, and the results are still available today, and still relevant.

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THE MISSIONARY AS CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATOR

MARVIN K. MAYERS

INTRODUCTION

We need to define three terms: missionary, educator and cross-cultural.

By missionary, we mean someone who carries a message.

By educator, we mean someone who uses the message to facilitate wholeness and completeness in a person.

By cross-cultural, we mean the message being communicated in a distinct culture or subculture, or a distinctively conceptual culture or subculture.

We need also to understand how I'm using culture. Culture is the sum total of one's life experience. All one's dreams, hopes, aspirations, anticipations, practices, habits, thoughts, experiences, activities, everything that goes into completing a person's day is culture. Culture is more than simply the arts, music, painting of a nation. It's everything that a person is and does and is more than the sum total of its parts. In this sense, every encounter is cross-cultural. In this sense, no two people are alike culturally.

From the moment that someone is born, that person is experiencing the influence of culture learning. Two identical twins who may appear to be identical physically will develop separately culturally. For example, put two twins in a stroller, take them down the street, when they're looking at each other they see something different to them, but more when they look away from each other, one sees the grass and the other sees the street. Such a subtle influence is enough to move them along two very separate tracks in life and thus in two separate subcultures. The remarkable thing about culture is that people agree to be identified as part of the same subculture, even though there are very distinctive and subtle differences that separate them from all other members of that culture. So now let us put together a conceptualization of the missionary as cross-cultural educator.

The missionary carries a message to help another person become a whole person within the context of his own cultural influences which are different from the missionary's, but which are constantly being influenced by the missionary, by the businessman, by the military person from outside his own cultural setting.

Every encounter with a person of another culture and thus of every person, is an educational encounter. Not only is it cross-cultural, but it communicates information, knowledge, from each to the other. The foundation for all learning is this general learning experience: background education we call it in the American liberal arts education. Liberal arts education is the increasing awareness by a person of life around him. A liberal arts education is foundational in all educational programs. This does not mean that a missionary should take the formal and non-formal education of his own background, and communicate it to another, and having communicated it, respond and react as if the recipient of this new education has now received a formal liberal arts education. Nor is it necessary to spend 16 years in educating someone with a liberal arts education. This is not the point at all. A liberal arts education, an opening to the universe around one, may take 16 years, it may take 50, it may only take 16 months or 16 days or 16 hours. But as we work with each person, ourselves and others, the foundation to effective education is learning broadly, generally, about the world around us.

The Bible is an expression of many peoples' conceptual universes. The message that the missionary carries is, among other things, the composite of all of those conceptualizations. Now each missionary selects from the sum total those aspects that are interesting, convenient, important, significant to him. And in the process of selecting, of course there are many things that get left out. But the responsibility of the missionary is to so communicate with another that the individual has sufficient background to understand every aspect of the biblical message which carries within it the Gospel message. It is this that helps an individual achieve personal maturity and lays the foundation for specialized training in ministry that is carried out in the name of Jesus Christ.

CASE STUDY METHOD

For many cultures, case study methodology is an effectual tool of education. In North American education, case study methodology is used in only a very few fields. For example, it is used in the legal training field, it is used in the linguistic field, it is used in social work, and social welfare training. Case study methodology is not as intensive an approach to learning as is the lecture or even the basic discussion as carried out in the North American classroom. Case study methodology is, however, a very viable learning tool in most cultures of the world. The case study allows the learning experience to come to life in the everyday experience of the learner. The learner responds within the context of the case study and relates his or her own personal experience to the case. The learner then carries away from the discussion of the case important learning principles that are applicable and readily applied to the everyday learning experience of the person. Jesus used the case study methodology with tremendous impact. Again and again he utilized a live case or a simulation to teach his disciples. For example, he would lay out a case to the multitudes, such as the sower went forth to sow. He would then discuss the case and debrief it with his disciples at a later date. The disciples would then gain much more learning from the case. They would be much better trained because they had not only heard the case but they had debriefed the case. At times Christ was a reluctant debriefer. Once when he was on the sea asleep in the boat and a storm arose, his disciples awoke him with great consternation, fearing for their very lives. Jesus responded with a debriefing of an ongoing case that he had experienced with the disciples. How long have I been with you? Have you not been aware of what I am able to do? Why do you fear for your lives? And he proceeded to place questions in their mind that they had to answer regarding the case of his ongoing involvement with them.

The missionary as cross-cultural educator needs to utilize the case study so that as he walks and talks with the people about him, he can draw from them their observations and reactions and instill in their minds and hearts those kinds of thoughts that will develop maturity, completeness.

MASTER AND APPRENTICE

One can lecture to students and never involve oneself in the lives of students. Case study methodology requires that there be a master and an apprentice. The master helps define the parameters of the case and encourages the apprentice to discuss the case so that the apprentice can learn the knowledge of the master. This is knowledge that is contained within the parameters of the case that he or she can apply personally. In the process of interacting with apprentices, the master begins to realize that there are insights that can be gained from the apprentice: how does one see life? How one sees life can expand, clarify, enrich, how the other sees life. A key factor in working with peoples of another culture is helping them become, in essence, masters themselves, so that the reciprocating relationship between masters provides a much more complete and fulfilling life experience for both the missionary and the host or guest and host.

The master-apprentice relationship is not fulfilled or completed until the apprentice himself, following the model of a master-apprentice relationship, is seeking out his own apprentices. There becomes then what I call a flow-through of learning. The master is then not teaching for the sake of the apprentice, of his own apprentice, but he is teaching for the sake of the apprentice's apprentice. Carl Rogers calls this the "client's client." This process becomes important because every apprentice is different from the master and, in a very real sense, from every other apprentice. In the student-teacher relationship, there is one primary conceptual learning tool, the lecture, that is relied upon in a large percentage of the educational program. When you're dealing, however, with a master-apprentice relationship, there are a variety of tools that need to be utilized in communicating because one never knows when a specific educational tool is going to be needed for an apprentice turning master to reach his own apprentice, to communicate to his own apprentice. For example, to get into the very heart of a Pakistani, one uses poetry. How many missionaries have had a course in poetry? How many missionaries have had a course in Pakistani poetry? How many missionaries in Pakistan have ever begun to imagine that the most direct way into the heart of a Pakistani is through poetry? If Pakistani brothers or sisters or relatives of any kind are going to communicate something really important to another member of their family, they are going to use poetry. Poetry, therefore, becomes one of the creative expressions that needs to be trained in to the apprentice. The master thus becomes aware of a list of creative expressions, encouraging the apprentice to try them: art, music, drama, lecture, creative writing, dance, electronic media, television, radio, motion pictures. A particular media expression might not be needed for a master to communicate with his own apprentices. But sometime, somewhere, his apprentices will need that media expression to communicate with his own apprentices.

The effect of this process of flow-through in education, of master to apprentice, and the apprentice becoming master to his own apprentices, is that the masters-apprentices become a secondary focus in the educational process. Those that are of primary focus become the apprentices' apprentices. Jesus recognized this clearly.

He at times bypassed the disciples completely. They were a neutral factor when Jesus was with the multitudes. Then as the case developed and as the parameters of the case were known, he would talk with the disciples. But then he would talk with the disciples as equals, not as teacher to student, but as colleagues who were seeking to understand what was happening with his own apprentices'apprentices. Then he would urge them to go out and make use of the new knowledge they gained as they debriefed the original case study. Thus they established a new case ready for debriefing and the resultant learning.

THE PROBLEM OF CREDENTIALS

One might think that the apprenticeship relationship would not produce masters of a very high level of credentials. When there is not a conceptualization of master and apprentice, when there is simply the conceptualization of teacher and student, then the development of the student to the highest credential level is by chance, and the student always suffers from the valuation of the professor. With the master-apprentice relationship, however, it is important that the apprentice, in becoming a master, achieve equivalent levels of credentials to the master. Otherwise, the master-apprentice relationship does not work. And every apprentice, other things being equal, has the opportunity, the privilege to develop equivalently to the master. This is very important in the underdeveloped nations of the world, in fact, in all cultures. The hope must be held out and the realization must be possible that each apprentice will achieve the same level of credential as the master, that is to say, the highest credential level possible.

This is especially important in the area of Bible translation, for example. If the apprentice never reaches the credential level of the master, then only the master, an outsider, a non-citizen, will be able to check the translation product of the apprentice. This is demeaning and degrading. It is important for every nation to have its own credentialed masters who will be able to check and approve the translation of their own people. But even as it is important in Bible translation, it is important in all of mission. The history of mission is full of examples of people who have never reached the credential level of their benefactors, of their friends who have struggled and sacrificed to communicate the gospel message to them. Consequently, they have frequently turned up as less than the outsiders, as second-class citizens, as those who are unable to fulfill the maximum responsibilities of the Christian experience within their own cultural setting.

You will notice an interesting progression in the development of an educational style in Jesus' experience. First, he communicated differentially to each of the people about him. Second, he utilized case studies to communicate to these people. Third, for some he communicated the case, for some he debriefed the case. Fourth, with all of them he attempted to leave them thinking not of the past nor of the present, but of the future. Fifth, in the process, he developed levels of involvement with people about him and people developed differential levels of involvement with him.

There were those who were most removed from him, the multitudes, the crowds. Then there were those who were believers. Then apparently there was a group of apostles and then there was a smaller group of disciples. Now it's possible the disciples and the apostles were the same. But what I am getting at is that there was a group of people, larger in number than the disciples but smaller in number than the believers. In other words, Jesus had people at different stages of response to him and to his message that he continually cultivated throughout his life, seeking to bring those in a more remote level closer to himself.

MASTER-APPRENTICE VS. TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIP

I have developed this concept of apprentice theory and suggested that apprentices seek out the master while the master is constantly sending messages that permit individuals to choose to become apprentices to him. The apprenticeship relationship is very different from the teacher-student relationship known in western education, where a teacher prepares a lecture, presents it to the students. The students go out and do something or fail to do something with the content of that lecture. Most lectures are designed to help the student tomorrow rather than today. An apprentice, on the other hand, interacts with the teacher in an ongoing setting and finds learning that is useful today and tomorrow. By practicing what he's learning today he is advancing his use of that knowledge tomorrow. In a student-teacher relationship, the teacher imparts only a small portion of his knowledge, whereas in the master-apprentice relationship there is a closeness. With the student-teacher, the learning ends with the final examination, whereas with the master-apprentice it goes on and on throughout the life of the individual. With the student-teacher relationship, it is assumed that the students will become teachers of others, but not the teacher of teacher, whereas with master-apprentice relationship it is assumed that the teacher, the master, will be master to the apprentice until such time as the apprentice becomes master and may even respond reciprocally to the original master and become his teacher: i.e., developing a reciprocity of learning that involves equal coordinates rather than subordinate relationships.

A very important extension of the master-apprentice relationship is that the master need not concentrate on one apprentice to share with that apprentice all his knowledge. Rather, what is needed in the cross-cultural context is that a master of any bit of knowledge find an apprentice to share that bit of knowledge with. When I start in any situation, I seek to find an apprentice with whom I can share knowledge that is of vital interest to that apprentice. Then I keep expanding the number of apprentices until I have all my knowledge being distributed, disseminated to some apprentice somewhere, sometime, somehow. It becomes a lifestyle rather than a restricted pattern of communication of one on one. It becomes a pattern of distribution of knowledge throughout a set or a group of people. At any time the relationship can become reciprocal; by my sharing with an apprentice certain aspects of my knowledge, I may gain by reciprocal response from that person's knowledge.

When missionaries first went to peoples of another culture, they had a message that they wanted to communicate. They communicated this message in a unilateral way not recognizing that the people had anything to offer them. In the expression of the master-apprentice relationship, I have found that peoples of other cultures have a tremendous contribution to make. For example, in the area of liberal education, I have learned so much by seeing the world through the eyes of Korean and Chinese friends. I've learned so much of life by viewing it through the eyes of Latin American friends. I've learned so much of what life is all about and the ultimates of life through viewing life as a European would view life. I am excited about what I've learned from my African friends. There is no question in my mind that I have profited from teaching peoples of all cultural backgrounds, and teaching them in such a way that I might learn from them not simply facts of their nation but perspectives as they have viewed the world. And as I have helped them, they have helped me. As I have treated them as master to apprentice, I have soon discovered that they were master to me as apprentice. Learning has been an exciting experience. Learning has developed and emerged as a lifelong process rather than ending with formal schooling.

CONCLUSION

It is important that in all cross-cultural education, every student, every apprentice, has potential for the highest degree available within the educational world of formal education. The fallacy of cross-cultural education as propounded by many missionaries has been that the people they teach, they educate, they struggle with, are ultimately unable to reach the very highest levels of formal academic achievement. This is a tragic fallacy. This means that at the very highest level, only outsiders to a culture can make the ultimate decisions regarding education, regarding development in theological areas, or can be the consultants and checkers of Bible translation. Built into the earliest levels of education in so many settings is the cultural and personal put-down: i.e., the limitation that keeps a member of a certain culture from becoming the ultimate master in cross-cultural education in that setting.

TEACHING MISSIONARIES THROUGH STORIES: THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF INDIGENOUS LITERATURE AS AN ASPECT OF A CROSS-CULTURAL ORIENTATION PROGRAM

MIRIAM ADENEY

In 1982, a Christian educators' training program in Indonesia divided its time between abstract topics like "What Is a Teacher?", "What Is Our Responsibility as Shepherds?", "Storytelling Techniques," "How to Teach Memory Verses," and making flannelgraph. Here in the country of wayang kulit, wayang wong, ketoprak, and ludruk, where drama and music are almost as important as food -- here missionaries still tried to teach through abstract topics and foreign visual aids.

In this paper, we argue that early missionary training should give significant attention to indigenous literary genres for three reasons. First, there are pragmatic reasons: over the long run, missionaries will communicate most effectively if they use available, understandable, and valued media.

One of the earliest Protestant missionaries to Indonesia, Gottlob Bruckner, noted the contrast between his preferred genres and those of the Javanese. He learned to speak and even to read Javanese without undue difficulty, but "found it difficult to write in the language for want of some model of prose composition, all their books being in the poetical form" (Bentley-Taylor 1967:44).

Coenraad Coolen, a contemporaneous half-Javanese Christian, did communicate Bible stories extensively through wayang drama. He nurtured a flourishing Christian community. Yet "this practice of his was entirely condemned" when Henry Medhurst, of the London Missionary Society, arrived. According to Medhurst,

> (Coolen) said that in the Holy Scriptures Christ was compared to Melchizedek and why might we not trace such resemblances as we could find between our Savior and the fabulous heroes of antiquity? ...That Christ used similitudes... He, of course, was told that we were only warranted in exhibiting those as types of Christ which were set forth as such in the Scripture of truth, and that the project of mixing truth with error in order to captivate the minds of men was one of the wildest as it was one of the wickedest that had been conceived....
>
> (Bentley-Taylor 1967:70).

(Medhurst reminds me of a British colleague in the Philippines in the 1970's, who argued that we must not put pictures into an edition of the New Testament that we were preparing, because pictures would communicate to people through their emotions rather than through their minds.)

Still today, Robi Chandra, an Indonesian writer and a graduate student in communications at Wheaton College, argues that almost none of the Bible teaching materials available in Indonesia are appropriate -- often because they are too propositional, too denotative, too explicit, whereas Indonesians resonate to a text packed with multilevel connotations. Meanwhile, mission societies teach topically, make flannelgraph, and call it communication.

To be sure, some missionaries do use indigenous genres. Klem (1982) has shown how Christians employ traditional oral media effectively in Africa, and has set this approach in theoretical and theological context. Loewen (1978) has explained how missionaries can communicate better when they study local myths. Peel (1966) has described Indian Christian drama troupes presenting Old and New Testament narrative in a style similar to presentations of the Mahabharata and Ramayana. Stock has cultivated Pakistani singers called Bhagats, who communicate the faith (Curry 1983). The Latin American Quechua annual indigenous Christian music festivals (with tape recorders five rows deep surrounding the platform) are becoming well known. Even among English working class people, it has been argued that a largely nonliterate program -- face-to-face discussions rather than private Scripture reading -- may be most appropriate (Bennington 1973). King describes some indigenous hymnologies in her unpublished Fuller Theological Seminary text, Readings in Christian Communication through Music. There are no doubt missionaries on every continent who try to communicate through appropriate indigenous genres. But in the total program of most missions, these efforts are marginal, "tacked on." A lot of effort is poured into Easter and Christmas dramas. There is an "extra" hymn book. Meanwhile, the core of the teaching continues to be traditional Sunday school classes or catechesis, inductive Bible studies, sermons, or whatever it always has been. Thus some excellent indigenous Christian creations, after an initial performance or two, end up as white elephants, gathering dust on the composer's or writer's or producer's shelf.

Yet if all missionaries were oriented to the importance of indigenous genres before they left home, this would not need to be the case.

Beyond pragmatics, a local literary genre is more than a useful tool. This brings us to the second reason for studying such creations: they help missionaries learn to think in an indigenous way.

Art goes deep. Because of its dependence upon, yet transcendence above, the behavior which demonstrates it, art often has provided a model of culture in the abstract, as Geertz has illustrated with the Beethoven Quartet (1973:11-12). Literature is the art with which we are concerned here. It may be defined as a verbally based system of symbols, appreciated for its sensuous form, which is employed for aesthetic purposes. In the Western tradition, literature has been distinguished by euphony, rhythm, metaphors, and organizational complexity and coherence. Compared with denotative scientific verbalizations, literature is both less redundant and more tightly packed with meanings. In this tradition, the critics Wellek and Warren observe that a novelist, for example, is great

> when his world, though not patterned or scaled like our own, is comprehensive of all the elements which we find necessary to catholic scope or, though narrow in scope, selects for inclusion the deep and central, and when the scale or hierarchy of elements seems to us such as a mature man can entertain (1949:214).

In the same vein, upholding the criterion of unity in diversity for a different genre, Wellek and Warren continue: "Provided a real 'amalgamation' takes place, the value of the poem rises in direct ratio to the diversity of its materials" (1949:243).

But cross-cultural study reveals that the aesthetically valued verbal system is not always composed of ingredients prized by Westerners. Redundancy, for example, is not an aesthetic faux pas everywhere. Nor is diversity of content always prized. In Lord's classic study of epics, he states that the oral epic "consists of the building of metrical lines and half lines by means of formulas, and the building of songs by the use of themes" (1965:4). Homer, for example, employed formulas: once he had found one expression for an idea, he stuck with it. Every epic performance is a new creation. Yet, because the narrator employs stock formulas, he may continue hour after hour. Furthermore, he need not memorize an excessively large number of formulas. Rather, he may expand his corpus by transforming and permuting the formulas through several substitutionary systems.

Similarly, in Southeast Asian traditional dramas, stock characterizations and plot events carry the narration along (Brandon 1967). An actor's speeches are spontaneous to the extent that, given a plot outline shortly before curtain time, he pulls out of his standard oral repertoire the units required: a love speech/dialogue, a battle charade, et cetera. Accompanying musical strains also convey meaning. Each of a multitude of musical motifs is associated with some particular action. Thus a knowledgeable listener can follow the plot without seeing it.

Whereas Western literary canons decry cliches, redundancy and stereotyping, many societies appreciate stock literary formulas (as do the millions of Westerners who consume formula novels and movies). Aesthetically valued verbal arrangements thus have varying emic definitions. In light of this, Bauman (1975) recommends abandoning a text-based definition of literature. In its place he suggests a definition based on performance, which he defines as a mode of verbal communication entailing responsibility to an audience for communicative competency, evaluated for form above and beyond its referential content.

However we define literature, we must recognize that because of its specific denotative verbal content, it is the most obviously culture-bound of the arts. Thus it offers many avenues for investigating the culture of its origin. We will describe five contemporary approaches.

First, let us consider structural analysis of the text. Narrative structure may model mental structure and/or social structure. Here Levi-Strauss holds center stage (1963). Myth is the genre on which he has focused. For Levi-Strauss, myths are the result of basic universal logical processes. Meaning, however, does not reside in the elements of the mythic narrative themselves, but rather in the relations between those elements. A jaguar, for example, may "mean" different concepts when contrasted with different elements. What kinds of relations occur between themes? Generally, there is a display of polar oppositions, followed by a struggle toward resolution. This progression is orderly. Oppositions which will not admit a mediating term are replaced by those that will. Two of the terms of that triangle are then replaced by another. And so on. Even when paradox remains, a degree of resolution may be achieved when oppositions are shown to be similar by being contradictory in the same way.

According to Levi-Strauss, mythic patterns for overcoming contradiction serve as models for dealing with conflict socially and psychologically. Socially, people work out oppositions through systematic exchanges between groups. Psychologically, myth serves as a model for personal struggle, as for a woman in difficult childbirth described by Levi-Strauss.

In this structuralism, literature models the universal structure of the human mind. However profound Levi-Strauss's insights, most anthropologists want to know how particular environments or histories affect this universal mind so that cultural variation emerges. Thus some analyses attempt to correlate specific narrative structures with specific cultural contexts. Dundes (1965b; 1971) finds many African tales exhibiting a sequence which begins with making friends and ends by breaking the friendship. By contrast, American Indian tales display a sequence which proceeds from lack to satisfaction. Colby (1966) and Colby and Cole (1970) find that Eskimos pay more attention to the individual in his natural environment, and Japanese to the social environment, according to the relative weight of these in their analyzed literatures.

Peacock and Colby (1973) correlate literary genres with social organization on an evolutionary scale. Primitive social organization is said to be characterized by cohesive rites, such as choral singing. Pre-industrialized hierarchical states display both legends of royal heros with superhuman powers, and clownish comedies which lampoon aristocratic manners. "Early modern" social organization precipitates two genre streams. One is the collectivist nationalist myth in which individuals are subordinated to the force of history. Heroes, charismatic but not superhuman, battle enemy scapegoats. Such literature has appeared in twentieth-century Russia and Nazi Germany. In such art, "the archaic-historic stress on manners and hierarchy is lost and with it the emphasis on both ultrarefined dancers and ultracrude clowns. With the declining import of jokes and dance interludes and the increasing spirit of nationalistic thrust toward goals, drama performances become shorter and more tightly organized to a climax" (1973:630). The other genre stream is individualist, illustrated by early Hollywood movies. Such dramas are even shorter than the nationalist versions, "partly in order to depict as clearly and compactly as possible the connection between characters' initial ambition and final success, partly in order not to take too much time from the job" (1973:630).

Narrative structure may model mental and/or social structure. Among those who have explored this are Olrik (1965), Raglan (1965), Campbell (1949), Peacock (1968), Hymes (1971), Lukacs (1971), Escarpit (1968), and Wright (1975).

A second anthropological approach to literature is psychological analysis of the text. Whereas structuralists emphasize formal, rational mental processes, psychological anthropologists hold a markedly contrasting view of thinking, in which emotional drives skew the workings of the rational machine. Here the units of significance in a narrative may be Freudian symbols, Jungian archetypes, or indeed any elements which form a latent pattern not easily observed by the conscious mind. The manifold allusiveness of literature, the connotations which render it opaque to quantification, invite interpretations below its surface. Psychological anthropologists point out that there are important symbolically organized systems of motivation that are partly blocked or screened off from consciousness. Such forces send signals to consciousness through the emotions, art, and pathology. Art may be a way of bribing the superego, as it expresses tabooed impulses in acceptably stylized forms (Devereux and La Barre 1961:375).

The psychological approach is illustrated by Wolfenstein's analysis of the contrasting American and British versions of the Jack and the Beanstalk tale (1965). Kluckhohn, in his study of Navaho mythology, has shown how myths resolve anxieties through reaction formation, introjection, and projection. Levi-Strauss, too, has noted the emotionally purging function of the "fireworks" which a literary specialist may provide for society. The universe is more full of meanings than normal or rational thought can discover, Levi-Strauss asserts. An experience rich in imaginative overtones, such as a curing ceremony, brings out some of the meanings in the universe which remain ungathered otherwise:

> It is this vital experience of a universe of symbolic effusions which the patient, because he is ill, and the sorcerer, because he is neurotic -- in other words, both having types of experience which cannot otherwise be integrated -- allow the public to glimpse as "fireworks" from a safe distance (1963:182).

Oral literature often is a medium in such ceremonies, a vessel for the "imaginative overtones."

Fernandez (1974) suggests that literature is written by individuals who feel their inchoateness more keenly than the mass, and so are pushed to leap to other realms to obtain recompense and movement. These realms then are opened to those who stayed home. Aristotle and his followers down to Burke (1957) have pointed out that participating in literary worlds helps alleviate the guilt and frustration endemic in human experience. For Aristotle, literature accomplishes this by arousing pity and terror at the downfall of a tragic figure, through a sequence of guilt, scapegoating, and catharsis.

Like literature, religion and ideology provide "other worlds." However, whereas the worlds of religion and ideology require commitment from their entrants, the worlds of literature do not. This was Weber's perspective, according to Peacock:

> Art competes with religion in that it offers "ersatz salvation." Like religion, art offers escape from the practical world, but unlike religion, art does not require its communicants to earn their escape by obeying a set of moral precepts which form a basis for "a brotherhood of man." Therefore, to religion, art is always "a deceptive bedazzlement... a

> realm of irresponsible indulgence and secret lovelessness" (1968:211).

Art allows transcendence without requiring moral commitment. One may loiter as a transient through any number of literary worlds. Yet this may be one of art's great advantages: it provides a mental laboratory in which people may experiment with various new combinations of ideas.

That leads us to a third anthropological approach to literature: metaphor analysis. Here literature is seen as providing not merely release of stresses but also providing semantic alternatives which enhance cognitive completeness. Metaphors are tools for this expansion of meanings.

Spurgeon (1935), who produced the classic study on Shakespeare's imagery, has argued that metaphors are more significant than themes, topics, or references, because images usually appear in passages of heightened intensity. It is worth asking, in any given culture: What images do these people mingle? What hidden likenesses do they perceive?

Geertz seconds this emphasis on metaphor:

> It is the absence of any analytical framework within which to deal with figurative language that has reduced sociologists to viewing ideologies as elaborate cries of pain. With no notion of how metaphor, analogy, irony, ambiguity, pun, paradox, hyperbole, rhythm, and all the other elements of what we lamely call "style" operate -- even, in a majority of cases, with no recognition that these devices are of any importance in casting personal attitudes into public form, sociologists lack the symbolic resources out of which to construct a more incisive formulation. At the same time that the arts have been establishing the cognitive power of "distortion" and philosophy has been undermining the adequacy of an emotivist theory of meanings, social

> scientists have been rejecting the first and embracing the second (1973b (1964):209).

In a study of Indonesia's wayanq kulit shadow play, Geertz (1957) describes how metaphor relates worldview to ethos or values, displaying order and nurturing motivation for conforming to that order. In wayanq kulit, the five Pendawas, representing the five senses, fight the hundred Kurawas, representing all sorts of Id impulses. The Kurawas and Pendawas are stock figures in the classic Hindu epic, the Mahabharata. The Javanese nobility are believed to be descended from the Pendawas. In order to control the Kurawas in the drama, the Pendawas have to learn to cooperate, because each acting alone tends to his own peculiar excess. Geertz draws a parallel with social behavior. To achieve the Javanese goal of gnosis through detached, tranquil, self-controlled, inward-looking awareness, he suggests, a person must unite his senses in the control of his impulses. This behavioral goal is seen to be in harmony with some of the basic cosmic forces described in the wayanq kulit myth. Incidentally, this drama also includes Semar, the trickster, who illustrates the admission and containment of the uncontrollable, the irrational, or the evil in the universe.

Many other anthropologists have combined study of the metaphor in myths with study of the culture. Such exploration has enabled Bulmer to suggest the metaphorical implications of certain animals among the Karam people of Papua, New Guinea, highlighting cultural emphases:

> ...cassowaries and dogs are quasi-humans, cassowaries the metaphorical cognates of men and dogs the distant potential affines and adopted children, (whereas) pigs are not quasi-humans with a separate society of their own, but sub-human or non-human members of the human family: like women, only more so (Bulmer 1973:191).

Why is metaphor significant? There is force in the semantic tension generated by metaphor, according to Geertz. Such tension may be a key to the power of any work of art. Take the Balinese cockfight, which Geertz (1972) considers an art form. Here he finds a number of levels of meaning: ambulant penises, unleased Ids, blood sacrifices, monetary exchanges, and status displays. The metaphorical conjunction of all these levels of meaning in the single symbolic system of the cockfight heightens tension and thereby underlines the central theme, the display of statuses and the knowledge that they are matters of life and death.

In his study of *ludruk*, a genre of drama particularly popular among urban working-class audiences in East Java, Peacock concurs. *Ludruk*, he asserts, is metaphor in all its power. It coerces discordant elements into a unitary pattern. The semantic tension heightens impact. The cognitive dissonance compels the audience to participate in the attempt to resolve it. This stimulates action -- and change. At the same time, *ludruk* serves as buffer, or a "mental gymnasium -- a place where proletarians can experience and so preserve attitudes that at this time are not fully utilizable by Javanese society" (Peacock 1968:250).

Jung (1966) has claimed that we connot use our abilities to the full unless our unconscious powers are marshalled through archetypes. He holds that the artist, being less adapted than his contemporaries, stumbles on the archtypes neglected by his era. Thus his art contributes balance to his epoch and nation. It fills out what is lacking in the worldview. It aids cognitive completeness (Jung 1966:65-83). For example, the Navaho Coyote is the exponent of all possibilities beyond the boundaries, outside the accepted order (Toelken 1969).

Still another anthropological approach to the study of literature is dramatistic analysis. Peacock views literature in dramatic categories. He is particularly interested in models of individual goal-striving and climax patterns. For this, tales, novels, and live dramas will serve as well as myths. Drawing on Parsons, Weber, and Burke, Peacock holds that individual choices affect society as a whole, and, in particular, individual goal-striving affects social change. In this process, he suggests, symbolic representations of individual goal-striving may inform, motivate, and reinforce behavior.

Peacock's theory also has affinities with the transactional approach of Barth (1969). Both bypass static position/role descriptions to focus on processual transactions. Both emphasize the dynamic symbiosis of individual good-seeking and group adjustive strategies. Both see change emerging from this process.

From this perspective, Peacock has analyzed narratives not primarily in terms of static content elements, oppositional terms, or themes, but in terms of the sequence of events and climax patterns. Since these often describe individuals struggling toward goals, and since, in Peacock's view, individual goal striving is fundamental to change, such linear data may reveal seminal cognitions and values concerning both individual development and social change. These legendary achievement quests may model acceptable process behavior.

In his analysis of Javanese ludruk drama, Peacock has suggested that ludruk helps Javanese view modernizatin in terms of meaningful cognitive categories. By aesthetic means, ludruk seduces viewers into empathy with modern modes of social actions. And it helps restructure people's thinking styles toward more compatibility with participation in modern lifestyles -- nurturing linear, sustained, ideological, and goal-oriented, rather than cyclical, fragmented, technique-focused, and fatalistic thinking. Thus symbolic action affects ordinary action.

Other anthropologists who have commended the dramatic approach include Abrahams (1968, 1976), Watson (1973), and Murphy, in a major Annual Review article (1978).

Finally, ideological analysis of literature moves from analysis of text to analysis of use. Specifically, how do groups use literature to jockey for status? Boas observed, "I have shown that among the Kwakiutl the plot of most stories is the authentication of the privileges of a social division or of a secret society" (1940:477). In more recent decades, as interest in interaction and conflict theories has increased, stress has shifted from the use of literature to validate status to the use of literature in the struggle for status, so that Leach writes of myths employing "a language of argument, not a chorus of harmony" (1954:278). In fact, writers and narrators often are deviants who express a radical negation of established patterns. The Javanese ludruk drama clown, for example, never achieves a settled position in the establishment. Instead, he mocks Javanese values. Conversing directly with the audience, he discusses problems openly, flaunting social censors (Peacock 1968).

Yet such counter-culture protest, the furnishing of a language for argument, may in the end enhance social stability (Parsons and Shils 1951:218; Coser 1964). Along with sports and other entertainment, literature may divert aggression from original sources of institutional conflict by providing for vicarious "safe" release of hostile impulses. Centuries earlier, as we have noted, Aristotle had pointed out this cathartic function of literature.

Thus the ludruk clown, though he mocks Javanese values, is in fact a communal therapist, a mediator whom one Indonesian describes as "standing outside the trees in order to see the forest." He is the drama's intellectual, who integrates discordant elements, rearranging his audience's cognitive configurations. Clown jokes

> require a more abstract perspective than that of ordinary ludruk characters who, instead of exploring the relation between (contrasting) categories, simply try to fit themselves into one or the other.... Clowns grasp the dominant categories, then widen the audience's perceptual field by bringing in -- via instant aphorisms and puns -- categories which contrast with the dominant ones (Peacock 1968:166).

Protest literature may, then, reinforce the status quo. It may contribute to gradual change. The Marxist interpretation, however, is radically different. For the Marxist, protest literature is not cathartic. The dialectic is not in equilibrium. Rather it is a spiral moving in a definite direction.

For those of this persuasion, "the concrete must be understood through conceptualization of those dialectical relations that determine it, not through its momentary surface life" (O'Laughlin 1975:343). Texts or performances must be analyzed in relation to their place in the class struggle for control of the means of production, which is fundamental reality. Literature serves the revolution: that is the basis for literary analysis. Any attempt to study literature "objectively" or from a non-Marxist perspective is misguided:

> Conventional realism, "objectively" apportioning light and shade, suggests an equilibrium which no longer exists.... For the conventional realist the time bomb ticking away in the basement is just one more thing among a thousand others in the house, the ticking only a background noise -- and anyone who insists on speaking only of the bomb, anyone for whom the ticking drowns every other sound, is accused of distorting reality (Fischer 1966:24).

Quite the contrary, Fischer continues, if indeed the clash between classes engendered by private ownership of property is inevitable and in fact directional, if a materially based social dialectic is inescapable, then "to provoke dreams of terror in the slumber of prosperity has become the moral duty of literature."

An ideological approach, then -- which focuses on analysis of use rather than analysis of text -- suggests new units for analysis, namely: Who are the producers? The consumers? The distributors? The supporters and patrons? What media are available, to whom? What behavior correlates with the use of the various media? What social networks are related to each media system? What charismatic or bureaucratic leaders influence these networks? In what power struggles are these leaders involved?

Also under the rubric of the ideological approach fall all the sociological studies of mass communications's effects: studies of "mass man"; "opinion leaders" and the "two-step flow of communication"; the "gender gap" in opinions; media's unifying and diversifying effects; et cetera. For example, the sociologist Escarpit finds:

> A calculation based on the average age of writers in France... shows that the rhythm of the literary generations... is determined by the succession of the various regimes in that country. Great reigns like that of Louis XIV in France or Elizabeth I or Victoria in Great Britain, and new political eras like those which began in 1792 for France, in 1865 for the U.S., and in 1871 for Germany, are always marked by the establishment of a powerful and comparatively young (25-35) team of writers. This team expresses the national literature and blocks the way to fresh recognitions until it in turn is eliminated by age or by a new historic change (Escarpit 1968:421).

This is the kind of information we discover when we pursue an ideological approach.

How does all this help missionaries? The structure of a text may be seen to model mental structure and/or social structure. Missionaries need to be exposed to that. Metaphors may illustrate how a culture expands it semantic range. Dramatistic analysis may show how stories model interactive relations. Ideological analysis may reveal how groups, in or out of power, use media to bolster their status.

In fact, all of this may be useful to missionaries. Whether we are considering indigenous myths, novels, soap operas, or comics, there is a whole world of verbal creations out there waiting to be explored by missionaries -- some of whom may read little beyond Time, Stars and Stripes, and the Bible -- and who believe that the only mature man is a literate man.

In my own dissertation (Adeney 1980), I applied Peacock's dramatistic analytical method to Filipino novels set in four political epochs. I found a number of recurring action models. First, the puppet of the foreign colonial powers. Second, the rebel. Third, the withdrawn escapist. And fourth, the balancer -- one who retains his roots while making use of the strengths of the colonizers; one who honors his father while selectively adopting new ways; a realist with ideals; one who is not bitter, who does not give up his dreams, yet who sees life steadily and whole. If there are unpleasant economic or political realities, he says, "Yes, that's true. But it's not the whole truth." He adapts in such a way that when any given political epoch is over, he can bounce back.

Studying these stories opened my eyes to the balancing that was occurring in Philippine culture all around me. Filipinos frequently juggle, weigh, and evaluate alternatives. They often switch from an emphasis on one social or ideological position to another. In Philippine bilateral kinship, social structure, historic interethnic relations, childraising, values, economics, and religion this flexibility is pervasive (Adeney 1980).

Missionaries to the Philippines need to know about balancing -- not just at the pragmatic level, but in enough cultural context so that its normativeness can be appreciated genuinely. Yet I have never seen this included in orientation for Philippine missionaries. Currently, I am working on a paper for ethnic Chinese missionaries going to the Philippines, in which I discuss how they will experience culture shock in the areas of family, social structure, economic behavior, values, communication styles, childraising customs, religious commitments, political expectations -- and of course, evangelism, discipling, preaching, church government, etc., etc. -- because of Filipinos' endemic balancing, juggling, and flexible weighing of alternatives. Such insights came from my study of literature -- which took me far beyond learning pragmatic use of media, to learning a little more how to think like a Filipino.

Two years ago, I read a paper on Philippine novels to a group of Filipino writers. Afterward, the editor of a major Christian magazine stood up and said, "When I became a committed Christian, I stopped writing fiction. But tonight I have seen the power of the writers of my own people. I am going to go home and begin writing stories again."

This leads us to the third reason missionary training programs should give attention to indigenous literary genres: The missionary message is largely story. The Bible is not primarily propositions. It is primarily the stories of people throughout history who have known God. With David, we experience doubt. With Jeremiah, we experience despair. With Joseph, we experience family rejection. With Solomon, we experience philandering. With Abraham, we experience a derailed career. These people are the missionaries' reference group, their heritage, their roots. And as the book of Hebrews records, when these great men all died, they had not yet received fulfillment of all the promises -- because they were waiting for us. Because they, without us, could not be made perfect. They wait -- and it is the missionaries' message that they are still waiting -- for the family to be complete. Missionaries call people to interact with God who is dynamic, to participate in the ongoing story.

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